THE CAMPAIGN THAT FAILED

THE Nation

November 6, 1954

20¢

Arms to the Arabs

by Lillie Shultz

Mars Over Germany

by Carolus

Paradoxes of Toynbee

by Frederick L. Schuman

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Witch Hunt at Hunter *Broadus Mitchell*

Soviet Vignettes *John Berger*

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
NOV 8 1954

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Witch Hunt at Michigan

Dear Sirs: Two members of the University of Michigan faculty have recently been fired as a result of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings held in Michigan last spring. We feel that readers of *The Nation* would be interested in some of the events occurring on the Michigan campus as a result of the Congressional hearings.

Last May three faculty members appeared before the Clardy subcommittee in open hearing. All three refused on constitutional grounds to answer questions about their political affiliations and beliefs, though all stated that they were opposed to violent overthrow of the government and that they had never engaged in espionage. Immediately afterward the president of the university, Harlan Hatcher, suspended the three men. The suspensions set off a large and vocal protest by faculty and students. Before the president made a final decision either to reinstate or fire the men, the cases were heard by a series of faculty committees appointed by the president.

The committee members evidently did not see themselves as representing the faculty. They were not trying to advise the president on the best solution for the teaching and research staff of the university. Rather they set themselves the job of suggesting to the president a decision which would take into account both the university's relations with the state legislature and traditional academic values of freedom from political coercion. This resulted in the committee members taking over what would have been a reasonable position for the president, who should consider faculty welfare and the university's appropriations from the legislature. The president seemed primarily oriented toward public relations and only slightly toward faculty morale. In other words, the formal set-up provided no clear representation of faculty opinion; yet the appointed committees gave the president the appearance of faculty backing for his actions.

Because of the strong public-relations emphasis in the faculty committee hearings, questions of political affiliation and belief dominated the decisions. The fact that the men's personal integrity and high competence were attested to by colleagues and students was not considered relevant to the disposition of their cases.

Dr. Clement Markert, an assistant professor in the zoology department, was reinstated by the university. According to newspaper reports, he admitted past membership in the Communist Party, talked freely and openly with university officials investigating his case, and indicated strong disagreement with the Communist Party.

Dr. Mark Nickerson, an associate professor in the pharmacology department, was fired. His position before the faculty committees was to admit past membership in the Communist Party and to state that he was no longer a member. There was no question here then of lack of candor. Dr. Nickerson, however, evidently did not convince the president that he was sufficiently opposed ideologically to the Communist Party.

Dr. H. Chandler Davis, instructor in the mathematics department, was also fired. Having used the First Amendment before the Clardy committee, he continued to stand on the principle of the right to privacy of political convictions throughout the faculty hearings. He did, however, answer all questions which concerned his professional and personal integrity. In a letter to Dr. Davis, later made public, the president said: "You have taken the same attitude and refused to answer these or related questions [questions concerning Communist Party affiliation] or to talk candidly about yourself and your alleged activities in the Communist Party before me and the special Senate committee to advise the President."

Assessing the effect of these three cases at the University of Michigan, there is no doubt that academic freedom has suffered a severe blow. The picture, however, is not all black. A man who used the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee has been retained by a state-supported university. Furthermore, out of the situation will also come an important test of the constitutionality of the powers of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Dr. Davis challenged the committee's powers to ask him about his politics on the grounds that the First Amendment prohibits Congress from making any inquiry or passing any legislation which abridges freedom of speech and assembly. He has been cited for contempt and is now making plans for his trial, scheduled for November.

The experiences here at Michigan can also be useful in helping the faculty members of other universities to meet the threat to their freedoms produced by Congressional and state investigating committees. For one thing, we feel that it is important for faculty members to work for the opportunity to express their own unique point of view in such cases and not to feel that they must consider all the factors which are necessarily important to the university administrators. At Michigan only one faculty committee out of the four involved took a clear faculty position and left the responsibility for public relations up to the administration. Obviously administrators are subject to strong pressure from sources outside the university. If no group clearly voices a faculty position, the outside pressures are going to be what counts in the decision.

NANCY C. MORSE and
Ann Arbor, Mich. ELIZABETH DOUVAN

Catch as Catch Can

Dear Sirs: In my article, Cannery Row Revisited, which appeared in *The Nation* of November 16, I wrote that "optimistic business men speak of the return of the sardine, basing their prophecy on a catch of four or five tons in southern waters." Some time after the article was forwarded to you a much larger catch, of some five hundred tons, was made and canned. This does not invalidate my argument that, so far as Monterey is concerned, the sardine has disappeared. The unusual catch is thought to represent a "lost generation" which had previously escaped netting. To date no more have been found, and the season is nearly over.

Monterey, Calif. WARD MOORE

The David Hyun Case

Dear Sirs: I wish to thank *The Nation* for publication of the article on my deportation case in the August 28 issue.

As an American raised and schooled since early childhood to honor, to practice, and to defend the great democratic traditions of our country, I am naturally fighting the deportation order on the same principled grounds that impel many liberals into action today—to defend our Constitution against the ravages of today's hysteria and to rest our defense upon the sovereign power in our democracy, the American people.

Such a defense is possible only through an informed public. *The Nation's* article is the first to bring national publicity to my case and helps to bring about justice through a free press.

Readers who may wish more detailed information on the physical persecution which threatens me in case I am deported to South Korea may obtain brochures by writing the "Friends and Neighbors of David Hyun," P. O. Box 26026, Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Calif. DAVID HYUN

Thought Control

Dear Sirs: How far down the road of thought control will we go when a grand jury in a federal court indicts Lattimore as a "follower of the Communist line" and a "promoter of Communist interests"? How do you prove a man's intent?

Who better promotes the more dastardly and cowardly aspects of such a line than he who would control thought and speech and impugn a man's intent, *ex post facto?* Does wild fury blind us to the essence of liberty? JAMES E. AMICK
Kansas City, Mo.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 179, Number 19
New York, Saturday, November 6, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Campaign That Failed

BY the time this issue reaches our readers the results of the November 2 election will be known. But the results are not likely to invalidate this appraisal of the miserably inept campaign now drawing to a close.

Through all the pre-election reports runs a common theme: voter apathy. To be sure, "apathy" is an ambiguous concept. Voters can appear apathetic when they have simply made up their minds; apathy can reflect satisfaction as well as disgust or indifference. An appearance of apathy can also be created when in truth only certain sections of the electorate are affected; in New York City registration was reported "normal or better" in Jewish and Negro districts, low in the German and Irish wards. Even so, the reports of apathy are so widespread—not for years have registrations been as low as they were this year in such states as Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey—that they cannot be brushed aside. If these reports are substantially true, then our political life must be seriously out of kilter, for seldom have more issues greater gravity been involved in a Congressional campaign. Explanations are a dime a dozen but those most frequently encountered can be grouped under three headings: weak candidates, a failure to sharpen or dramatize issues, and cheap tactics.

WHILE some interesting new political figures emerged —George M. Leader, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Pennsylvania, is one—the current batch of nominees was more than usually disappointing. "No man can go across the country from one political meeting to another," reports James Reston in the New York *Times*, "without being disturbed by the mediocrity of the candidates. . . . In far too many states [the people] have been asked to choose between candidates they dislike with equal zeal." It would be pointless, for example, to attempt a comparison of California's Senatorial nominees —Sam Yorty, Democratic, Senator Thomas Kuchel, Republican. Both men would make fairly mediocre councilmen in a sixth-class city. Only strong candidates will bring people to the polls.

Turning from candidates to issues, the fault seems to lie not in any dearth of vital issues but in a confused handling of questions on many of which both parties were in substantial agreement. The domestic issues were fairly well defined in some fields—public power, farm policy, and the like—and here the differences were significant. But the failure to define and debate issues of overshadowing importance in the field of foreign policy made the discussion of hydroelectric dams and farm prices seem overheated and slightly absurd. The failure of any group of candidates or of any substantial section of the electorate to be aroused over the question of German rearmament—to single out one of many issues—is a dreary comment on the level of political thinking in the country. In more general terms the Republicans could have advanced a telling argument, namely, that President Eisenhower stands for a somewhat more cautious foreign policy than the chief Democratic spokesmen. But the President was not a candidate; hence about the best the Republicans could do was to exploit his personal popularity and induce his right-wing critics within the party to pipe down.

ON the other hand, the Democratic criticism of G. O. P. policy was negative, oblique, and question-begging. The charge was advanced that Mr. Dulles had diminished American influence and endangered our alliances but he was praised for his handling of so many matters that the voter was left with the impression—largely correct—that the Democrats endorsed his policy.

Just as both parties "by common consent" confined the discussion of foreign policy to peripheral questions, so, also by agreement, they discarded McCarthyism as a campaign issue. Here and there Democratic nominees pressed their Republican opponents on this vulnerable point and even a few Republicans spoke out, but for the most part rival candidates were delighted to ignore it. That both parties were so eager to forget McCarthy was, as the *Wall Street Journal* noted, a sure sign that he still enjoys very widespread support. And before the campaign was over, Vice-President Nixon's unscrupulous red-baiting made it painfully clear that McCarthyism lingers on; indeed it was incorporated in the Administration's official campaign, presumably with the approval of the President. From a purely tactical point of view, the Democrats should have made an issue of McCarthyism and of Mr. Brownell's repressive "anti-Communist" legislation at the outset. They would have been in a much better position to denounce Nixon's last-minute smearing and his shameful personal intervention with the Navy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIAL

The Campaign That Failed 393

ARTICLES

Arms to the Arabs: The Road to Chaos
by Lillie Shultz 395

Holding the Line:
Moscow Still Talks Peace
by J. A. del Vayo 398

Soviet Vignettes: Artists and Teachers
by John Berger 399

Witch Hunt at Hunter:
Triumph of the Primitives
by Broadus Mitchell 401

Mars over Germany:
The Barracks Are Waiting *by Carolus* 403

BOOKS

The Paradoxes of Dr. Toynbee
by Frederick L. Schuman 405

Go East, Young Woman
by Bennett Epstein 407

Collapse of the Grand Coalition
by William A. Williams 408

Books in Brief 409

Selected New Books: Social Sciences
by Keith Hutchison 411

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 411

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 592
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 412

LETTERS opposite 393

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	*Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams	*Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz	*Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein	*Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo	*Foreign Editor*
Martin Solow	*Assistant to the Publisher*
Harold Clurman	*Theater*
B. H. Haggin	*Music*
Gladys Whiteside	*Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting	*Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon	*Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, November 6, 1954, Volume 179, No. 19

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Department to force revocation of Dr. Edward U. Condon's security clearance.

Cheap campaign tactics are, of course, both a cause and a consequence of voter apathy. In New York, after a pious rejection of smear tactics on October 18, Governor Dewey proceeded to dig up and ventilate on October 19 the first of his quarter-century-old charges against Averell Harriman. In Connecticut, anti-Semitism of the quiet undercover variety was a prime factor in the campaign, with both parties electing to ignore it. Here a credit should be noted for Vivien Kellems, running for governor as an independent—and generally reactionary—Republican, who publicly protested the organized whispering campaign against Abraham A. Ribicoff, the Democratic nominee. In New Jersey, Republicans red-baited Republicans—an entertaining twist—and generally, the A. D. A. was used as the symbol of radicalism much as the Progressive Party was used in the 1948 campaign. Fortunately the public's apathy was disturbed by these tactics, as was indicated at the huge Democratic rally in San Francisco's municipal auditorium on October 16 when Robert L. Condon, nominee for Congress in the Sixth District, received a stunning ovation, the biggest of the evening, despite the publicity given the "derogatory" items which the F. B. I. had turned up about him.

Thus with some minor exceptions Mr. Reston's verdict on the campaign will stand: "The people are bored —unfortunately they were not angry—with two-bit politicians and cheap debating tricks. . . . They are not in a mood to be harangued by men repeating the stale arguments and manufacturing false cries. The people have been offered not a single noble speech by either party. . . . The Republicans are still determined to get Truman out of the White House and Alger Hiss into jail."

But there have been indications this fall that some new forces may be at work in American politics. Indeed the "news" of the campaign may have been that in its final weeks the prospects for united labor political action suddenly improved. It was not so much organic labor unity for purposes of collective bargaining that was discussed at the Washington meeting on October 14 of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders as it was united political action. Labor has a long distance to travel before it can amount to a real political movement, but never before has labor emphasis been so exclusively concentrated on one party. As *Business Week* pointed out in an editorial on October 8, labor meetings this year conveyed an impression of being "pro-organized rallies for the Democratic Party." Labor is beginning to emerge as a unified political force openly identified with the Democratic Party. This could have an important effect in helping to bring about the basic realignment that must take place before existing parties can fully express the conflicting social forces in American life.

Sir Ivor Jennings, in his book "The Queen's Govern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment," points out that the essence of political stability in a two-party system is to be found in a balance of social forces held together by the lower middle classes. Nowadays, however, the lower middle classes are not an economic class nor are they an income group. Under these circumstances, both parties tend to take more and more the same position on major issues and right wings develop in each which exercise an effective veto over popular majorities. It is as labor emerges as a real political force identified with a major party that a new basis for stability can be found. This is the crux of the argument for realignment.

ARMS TO THE ARABS

The Road to Chaos . . *by Lillie Shultz*

THE new United States arms policy for the Middle East is apparently based on the concept that the human race is obsolete. Or, at least as far as this area is concerned, expendable. This is the only rationale for a policy which completely ignores the human factor and the whole social, economic, and political complex resulting from the human conditions.

In the name of security this country has embarked on a policy which is either sheer adventurism or one which will mire us in quicksand. Either way we are building friends for Russia, enemies for the United States, and chaos for the Middle East.

With the settlement of the Suez dispute the United States and Britain had it within their power to launch a great constructive enterprise to develop this important backward area through a proffer of funds and skills—in exchange for regional peace. Every Arab government has development plans the execution of which depends upon Western skills and Western funds. Iraq and Saudi Arabia alone have sufficient funds from oil to finance development. Both need Western guidance and know-how.

FOR the first time in decades this area is to be freed from "occupation" by any principal power, as Britain departs from Suez and probably soon from Iraq. Stretching across some 2,000,000 square miles, the area is made strategic by its geographical position, connecting as it does Europe, Africa, and Asia, and by its possession of 53 per cent of the world's oil reserves. It is a prize coveted by East and West.

Obviously a defense vacuum exists. In this area 40,000,000 people live under feudal conditions, in ferment against unspeakable poverty and degradation, and on the threshold of revolt against their rulers, against "foreigners," against bases. The area's crying need is social and economic development. Without it, no government can remain in power. Without it, there is no assurance that the area will not fall a prize to communism without a shot being fired.

The United States has chosen to meet this situation by providing arms to unstable governments in the illusory hope that once armed, the Arab states, their vanity assuaged, will join the Turkish-Pakistan Treaty allied to NATO; and that we shall be permitted to move in and build roads, railroads, ports, airfields, bases costing billions—lacking any assurance that the populations will be loyal to our cause or that the governments which make the arms agreements will remain long in power.

Our failure to seek regional stability or regional peace as a preliminary to such a program, our willingness to truncate the area by eliminating Israel from this defense perimeter, is the most startling indication of our belief that we can go it alone. What the United States is really saying is that once in possession of base rights, we are prepared to man the area, ignore people and conditions, rely on our own capacity for instant retaliation.

Israel's justified fears for itself have put the spotlight on the problem. But it is not Israel alone which is threatened. The security of the United States and the West is jeopardized by the dangerous folly we call policy. For what are the unchallengeable facts?

1. There is no certainty that any Arab government with which arms agreements are made will survive to honor these agreements—unless the American arms are used against rebellious native populations. The outstanding political fact in the Middle East is the frequency with which governments fall, either by military coup or by assassination. In Iraq there have been two elections in the past four months, the last conducted in an atmosphere of strictest censorship, with the opposition parties not participating. Egypt has seen four changes in the governing personnel of the military junta since March, 1954. On October 26 Premier Nasser narrowly escaped an assassin's bullet, the climactic point of a campaign by the fanatical Moslem Brotherhood directed mainly against the agreement to permit Britain to reoccupy the Canal Zone in the event of an attack on an Arab League country or Turkey.

2. Relations between the Arab states are similarly unstable. Mutual suspicion and rivalry are so strong that in nine years of existence the Arab League has been unable to undertake a single constructive act for the benefit of the region.

The inner tensions have now been aggravated by Arab strife over the Turkish-Pakistan Treaty. To induce Iraq to refuse to join the pact, Salah Salem, Egypt's Minister of National Guidance, promised that Egypt would not oppose the Greater Syrian Federation, a union of Iraq, Syria, and Jordan, long an Iraqi dream. This at once created a crisis between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, resolved by the dismissal of Salah Salem, called euphoniously a "temporary leave," and the repudiation of his agreement

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Iraq. Salem has now been restored to office, the rift with Saudi Arabia healed. But Egyptian-Iraqi relations continue disturbed.

Further to cement relations with the Moscow world, Nasser, after a trip to Mecca, has undertaken with Prime Minister Mohamed Ali of Pakistan and King Saud of Saudi Arabia to embark on a crusade to save Africa from "Christianity and Communism." Christian missionaries have been characterized as "vanguards of imperialism."

3. No enduring system of regional defense has ever been built in the absence of regional stability or regional peace. Neither exists in the Middle East. The whole area is rocked by social, economic, and political unrest which could assume revolutionary proportions. Ninety per cent of the population is in virtual peonage to a small group of landowners and moneylenders. Illiteracy is almost universal. The mortality rate is among the highest in the world. Disease is so widespread that the average life expectancy is twenty-six years.

On this fertile soil Communist propaganda sows the seeds of disaffection with its promise of bread and of freedom from foreign domination. Only a week ago under the impact of such promises Jordan, a protectorate of Britain, elected two pro-Communists to the legislature.

4. Arms furnished now to Arab governments are only an incitement against the West, since they fail to supply food for the hungry, health for the sick, or the kind of economy that could produce a decent standard of living. In a realistic appraisal of the situation Egypt's Prime Minister on September 3, 1954, told the *U. S. News and World Report:*

> I should prefer to have social development and to raise the production of my country rather than develop the army because I think by developing the army I would be keeping the standard of living of the people at the same low level it is now. If you want to build an efficient army you must base it on people who have a good standard of living, who are interested in their work and are not worrying about their people's living conditions and unemployment.

No Arab government can hope to survive for long unless it is able to satisfy the social and economic needs of its people. No Arab government can assure the West of the loyalty of its people in case of war.

Egypt needs $100,000,000 a year for the next ten years to carry out a basic program of development. This it is unable to raise from its own resources. The grant-in-aid from the United States for 1954 is about one-fifth of what Egypt requires for one year. Yet we are prepared to give Egypt as much as $100,000,000 in military assistance immediately, $100,000,000 which will buy neither Egypt's loyalty nor our security. And we are preparing to multiply that figure many times over throughout the Middle East.

5. To defend the 2,000,000 square miles of territory of the eight countries of the Arab League, there are eight standing armies of approximately 200,000 men. Not one of these is a modern army with the exception of the Jordan Legion of 20,000 men, recruited, trained, armed, and financed by the British. All are comparatively new, the outgrowth of local gendarmeries whose principal function has been to put down internal revolt. None have had combat experience except in the Palestine war, which they initiated and lost. None have the skills that are essential to the maintenance of a modern base. There is no industry to supply a modern base. The armies naturally reflect the woes of the people, their poverty, ill health, illiteracy, resentments. Loyalty is to the small local feudal unit rather than to a national army or government. The Arab soldier has no objective for which he will endure sustained fighting. Every army except Lebanon's since 1948 has been indoctrinated solely with hatred of Israel for the purpose of destroying it.

Egypt's Prime Minister is the authority for the statement that nothing exists but man-power. He says: "It needs more than just troops and arms, it needs an infrastructure—airfields, roads, lines of communication. There is a defense vacuum in this area."

6. The cost of filling this "defense vacuum" would be billions. In Turkey, where both government and people welcomed American assistance, and which had stability of government and a basic military structure, it cost the United States more than a billion dollars in direct military assistance, supplemented by half a billion dollars' worth of economic assistance, both still continuing. Multiply these sums by the eight Arab states which presumably would be the beneficiaries of our military plans to get some concept of the dizzying cost of our new adventure.

7. WOULD this heavy concentration on military development assure stability in the area and the loyalty of the native peoples? Colonel Nasser repudiates the idea. He says: *"Bases mean occupation, occupation means hatred, and hatred means non-cooperation."* Willing though he is to accept American military aid, he has refused to accept an American military mission to supervise that aid—lest it jeopardize the life of his government. He says: *"You may send military aid. But I would not accept a military mission from the United States in my country, for my people would not tolerate it."*

Nor does the acceptance of arms carry with it the implicit promise of joining a Middle East alliance, including the United States, Britain, and Turkey. To join such an alliance, Egypt's Prime Minister says, would be to give "the Communists a weapon to use to destroy the defense of the area, because the Communists will be able to convince the people that such a partnership is for the interest of the West alone. . . . That the West is exploiting us. We will be attacked by atomic weapons."

8. NO sound regional defense can be carried out under a plan which truncates the region. By eliminating Israel from the regional defense arrangements, the Anglo-Egyptian Suez Pact and the American arms agreements do precisely this. And in so doing, the vulnerability of the area is increased. For Israel is the land link between both halves of the Arab world. Left unprotected, Israel invites aggression as the weakest point in the Middle East complex. Why should not the would-be aggressor choose Israel as a first target, and in a triple blow destroy Israel, Suez, and Iraq, instead of choosing Iraq as a first target and moving westward? In the airplane and atomic age, the time differential would be almost non-existent. If Israel were lost, the Western world would lose a population committed to the democratic purpose, a communications center, a modern army, and a modern industry.

That Israel has been eliminated from current regional defense concepts is clear. Colonel Salah Salem is the authority for the statement that it was definite-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly part of the understanding between Britain and Egypt that the Suez base cannot be activated in the event of an attack upon Israel by a principal power.

Similarly the unilateral arming of the Arabs by the United States, to the exclusion of Israel, is an outright bribe, intended to assure the Arabs that United States friendship for them is genuine and thus to spur them to join a regional defense pact.

Arming Israel would not resolve the situation, even though the discrimination against it should be ended. Obviously, a sound defense of the area requires that all the states should be joined in a defense arrangement. Without peace, no regional defense pact can include the Arabs and Israel. Regional defense requires the end of the Palestine war.

9. The vaunted unity of the Arab states up until now has been demonstrated only in a common hatred of Israel, a common thirst for revenge, and a call for a second round. Recently Egypt told the foreign press that it had no "aggressive" designs against Israel. But what Nasser and other Arab leaders say for home consumption is quite different, and is a better gauge of intention. Only last June Egypt's Prime Minister was quoted as saying: "We believe that we can reverse the position in Palestine to its natural state and return the land to its people and its owners."

At the beginning of 1954 Iraq's Foreign Minister, Fadhil Jamali, then Prime Minister, told the Iraqi Parliament that "whoever called for peace with Israel would be guilty of high treason and should be hanged." A month later Dr. Jamali, his country's representative in the current session of the U. N. General Assembly, said: "The destruction of Israel will be achieved by strengthening of the Arab states." Three times in the course of the past year Saudi Arabia's new king proclaimed publicly: "Israel is a cancer in the heart of the Arab world, which must be united to eradicate it."

No Arab country has shown any disposition to end the Palestine war. Violence on the Egypt-Israel border and on the Jordan-Israel border has multiplied in recent months. The Arab boycott of Israel is rigidly maintained. Although the Anglo-Egyptian agreement on Suez calls for upholding the international convention governing the free passage of ships through the Suez Canal, there is no commitment that this applies to ships bound for Israel. And indeed Egypt demonstrated its refusal to be so committed by seizing and holding the Israeli ship Bat Galem on September 28. When on October 6, 1954, in the U. N., Israel renewed its offer to negotiate non-aggression pacts with its Arab neighbors, the offer was repudiated by Egypt. The United States insists the arms will not be used against Israel. How can we be sure, since we do not control the Arabs?

Unstable governments frequently invent scapegoats to keep themselves in power. If the Arab governments are unable to resolve their internal problems, a second round against Israel could well be a diversionary lightning rod. In the absence of peace this is always possible.

10. IN some circles there is a strong belief that Britain, waiting until Israel has been sufficiently softened by its fears of a second round by the Arabs and by its distress over its exclusion from regional defense plans by the United States, may seek in Israel the substitute for the base it lost in Suez. Britain's treaty with Iraq expires in 1957. Britain will probably relinquish its two bases there, with the understanding they may be reoccupied in the event of external aggression. If this should happen, Britain would be deprived of its principal bases in the Middle East. Its Suez personnel is being moved to Cyprus, where Cypriot agitation for union with Greece is creating new headaches. Thus Britain would be left along a two-million-square-mile stretch with only a small base in Libya and three bases in Jordan.

The Jordan bases until now have been comparatively minor in the British pattern, although a link in the chain from Libya to Iraq. Without access to the sea, except through the small and undeveloped port of Aqaba, the Jordan bases have limited value. Under a fifteen-year treaty signed in 1948 Britain is obligated, in the event of war, to bring to Jordan "the necessary force of all arms." The British hold on Jordan is a precarious one despite heavy subsidies to the Legion. Nationalist propaganda demands its ouster. Saudi Arabia, eager to split Jordan from Iraq and Britain, has offered Jordan the equivalent of the British subsidy if it will oust the British.

Britain has long coveted a base in Israel, which forms a natural alternative land route to the Suez Canal and British bases in Africa. Israel possesses at Haifa the best deep-water port in the area. Israel connects the Mediterranean overland with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and thus Europe with Asia.

The Negev provides excellent terrain for a base. Moreover, Israel has a basic infrastructure, including airfields, ports, roads, railroads, machinery, transport storage facilities, and a refinery. All of these need further development. Much of this development is in progress, its pace depending almost entirely on the funds at the disposal of the Israeli government. Israel has maintenance and repair facilities capable of meeting the needs not only of the armed forces of Israel but of much larger forces.

Most important of all, Israel is the only country in the area possessing modern armed forces, including an army, navy, air force, and reserves, with armed forces and civilian population both oriented to the democratic cause.

Under such an arrangement Israel presumably would be safe from a second round from the Arabs, its place in global defense would be assured, and funds would be available to accelerate the modernization of the country. But as against this would be the increase in its vulnerability as a target for outside aggression as the base of a principal power, and its further alienation from the region of which it is and seeks to be an integral part. To accept in peace time the role of an "occupied" country, which its neighbors have cast off, would help to exaggerate rather than minimize differences and fears between Israel and the Arab states. This quite apart from the understandable reluctance of Israel to accept a satellite role.

WESTERN security depends on regional security—which cannot be obtained without peace between the Arab states and Israel. The truth is that vanity alone has prevented the Arabs from settling the Palestine war. The truth is that we have never made a serious attempt to get that settlement on a *quid pro quo* basis. If we are going to "bribe" the Arab governments, at least we should bribe them in a way which makes their own future secure—not with arms but with sufficient funds for development in exchange for peace.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOLDING THE LINE

Moscow Still Talks Peace . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

United Nations

THE Paris meeting, which marked so extraordinary a victory for West Germany and put the final touch to the reversal of the World War II alliances, naturally had repercussions in the United Nations. From the Soviet side came Mr. Vishinsky's statement to the Political Committee on October 25, in which he recalled that Germany was "historically a hotbed of militarism and war" and pointed out that while inside the U. N. the Western powers were protesting their readiness to disarm, outside they were arming the one country in the world which has always wielded its military weapons with limitless irresponsibility.

But sharp as the statement was, it marked no change in the conciliatory attitude which the Russians have maintained for a fortnight now on the disarmament question. In the end they joined in the unanimous approval of a resolution calling for a new attempt to reconcile the differing views on disarmament and the control of nuclear weapons. This in itself was a significant event, for it was the first time since 1946 that the Soviet Union and the West had cosponsored a major resolution. But its importance went far beyond the purview of the Political Committee. It gave the answer to a question uppermost in the mind of every delegate: Would the rearmament of West Germany and its elevation to full partnership in the Western alliance lead the Kremlin to revise a policy which had made possible the end of the Korean and Indo-China wars and had renewed hope of an East-West settlement? The answer, obviously, was no. By voting as it did the Soviet Union indicated that it was following a long-range policy which would not be altered by even such serious developments as the London and Paris accords.

It should be said in passing that much credit for having brought East and West closer together on the issue should go to Paul Martin, chief Canadian delegate, who first introduced the U. N. resolution.

Nevertheless, it would be dangerously wrong to assume that Russia will accept West German rearmament as a *fait accompli* and rest satisfied with its status in East Germany. Walter Lippmann wrote recently in the New York *Herald Tribune*: "The whole action of Moscow in East Germany and at the conferences and in the exchange of notes has fitted the assumption that the Soviet Union cannot and will not let go of East Germany. . . . Mr. Molotov wants to confer but not to negotiate." But I don't think Mr. Lippmann is ready to conclude from his own argument that so long as Russia sits comfortably in East Germany, the rearmament of Bonn is a matter of indifference to it. Nor would he insist, I think, that Soviet protests in this regard are no more than propaganda gestures. Yet I am afraid those who see in the London and Paris accords a genuine contribution to peace may derive from his words a degree of reassurance the facts hardly warrant.

A careful reading of the two thousand-word note handed by Mr. Molotov on October 23 to the British, French, and United States ambassadors in Moscow reveals the real Russian position. The note declared that the unification of Germany "was the most important and urgent task" for reducing world tensions. "The London decisions," it added, "open the way to the reestablishment of German militarism. Now the hands of the West German militarists and revenge seekers will be untied to conduct their aggressive policy in Europe. West Germany will thus become a dangerous lever of new aggression." The London agreement represents a double threat, the note emphasizes, because by including Bonn in NATO it "gives the German militarists an opportunity to exercise influence towards the further increasing of the aggressive character of the North Atlantic grouping."

Of course it can be argued that the Russian note does not mean what it says but rather what Western experts on Russia and the Soviet mentality say it means. But as Mr. Vishinsky remarked in the course of the Political Committee debate, if a government's explanation of its own position is of less importance than the explanation of it offered by other governments—or delegations—then the doors are shut to normal diplomatic intercourse.

There is no indication that the Russians are likely to discard their present policy of conciliation. In many ways the agreements reached at London and Paris are worse than E. D. C. would have been, as Carolus hints in his article elsewhere in this issue. Only the mystery which so often shrouds the actions of the French parliament can explain how the fervent opponents of E. D. C. in the National Assembly were so ready to approve the return of the German army under conditions giving it even greater freedom of movement.

The award to West Germany of sovereignty, an army, and NATO membership was not the only thing done at London and Paris which will help make the Federated Republic the future arbiter of Europe. Integration of the West German economy into the European and world economies may prove even more serious. The Franco-German accord on the Saar can be judged only within the framework of the broad cooperation between the two countries for which the foundation has now been laid. The possibilities opened to Bonn are greater than anything Dr. Adenauer could have dreamed of a few months ago. By agreeing to expand further their already important trade relations, Bonn and Paris have done much to return to the Germans their lost military, industrial, and financial hegemony. No doubt the French economy will also profit from the arrangement, but at what cost to French security? Will it really profit the French in the long run to have turned the "traditional enemy" into a welcome *compagnon de route?*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States investments in West Germany are already large, and they will grow as the result of the visit of Chancellor Adenauer, who discussed with President Eisenhower the whole question of the American contribution to German rearmament. This contribution becomes all the more important in the light of the new policy of Franco-German economic cooperation. West Germany's economy holds endless promise of growth. One day France and the rest of Western Europe will again feel its impact.

Fortunately developments in Europe failed to alter the favorable course taken by the disarmament discussions in the Political Committee. But the grave implications of German rearmament will not make negotiations with the Russians any easier. Only if the U. N. succeeds in taking away from the Germans the arms promised them by London and Paris can we expect any real progress toward permanent peace.

SOVIET VIGNETTES

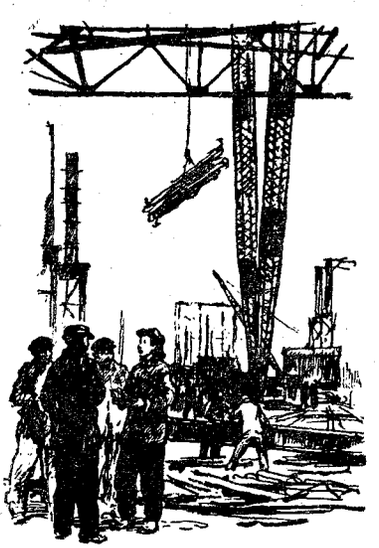
Artists and Teachers . . *by John Berger*

London

I SPENT three weeks in Moscow and a week in Leningrad on my recent visit to Russia. That is not a very long time. It seemed to me that I was free to go wherever I wanted to. I was able to talk with a few important people and many unimportant people in either French or English. I talked with others through an interpreter. I cannot, however, tell you much that is dramatic or new. My most vivid memories are of individuals interested in the same subjects as myself—painting, sculpture, architecture, education. A few of them I want to try to describe to you.

Rudniev, the chief of the Soviet architects who designed the new Moscow University, is a man well over sixty, with a gray beard, a big forehead, and wild eyes. When you meet him you are immediately struck with the quickness of his movements. When you study him you realize that these consist mostly of an occasional jab of his stick on the floor to emphasize what he is saying, of swift, amused glances around the circle he is addressing, of a comical stiff twisting of his back. Nevertheless, you feel that anywhere—even in a Western newspaper office—he would seem as alert as a sheep dog among sheep.

I went with him and several British architects to look over his university. We met him by the huge entrance portico. "Can't see anything here," he said; "come and look at it properly." So we started walking away down the main approach, which has extensive gardens on both sides. "We're still too near," he said when we stopped, and he led us even farther back. "This will do. Now, how far away do you think we are from the entrance?" "Three hundred meters?" "Six hundred meters?" "Eight hundred meters," he exclaimed with triumph. "It's a bigger building than you can grasp. Of course there are a lot of things wrong with it. The entrance portico, for instance. We've had several shots at that, but it's still not right. Too conventional and classic. And then that large decoration above—we're going to pull that down and try something else. Decoration must not look stuck on—like a sort of medal for the building."



This drawing, and the two on the following page, taken from the Soviet magazine Little Fire, *are characteristic of the illustrative black-and-white art used in contemporary popular publications in the Soviet Union.*

One of us asked him if any provision had been made for expansion. He paused, looked around the crowd that had collected to listen to him, and then, smiling, pointed at a very short Red Army soldier and said: "You see this comrade here. If his wife says to him, 'The trouble with you is you're too small,' what can he say? All he can say is, 'Well, I'm the size I was made. You must take it or leave it.'"

Somebody else asked him if there was direct communication between the two large dormitory wings. "Not very direct," he replied. "One wing is for men students, the other for women students. You *can* get from one to the other, but if it were easy, I would soon have to build a third wing."

Inside the building we passed a group of students gossiping. The university had opened for the first time a week before. When they saw Rudniev they waved and clapped. He gave his pleased comedian's bow.

On the roof, about forty stories up, are huge statues of youths—students and such. One of these I particularly admired and I asked Rudniev who the sculptor was. "I designed it myself," he said very modestly; for once he was not being a comedian. "But what I really like doing is painting. I try to paint on Sundays—but I don't get much done. You know what grandchildren are."

OLGA I saw quite a lot of. She was a school teacher—an odd, sharp little woman who, although about forty and

JOHN BERGER, British painter and art critic of the New Statesman and Nation, *recently visited the Soviet Union.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with two children, looked rather like a fledgling before it gets its feathers. Perhaps the reason had something to do with her sparse fair hair, her very bright eyes, and the way she opened and shut her mouth quickly. It shut very tight if you inadvertently hurt her feelings. And if you did not make amends, it opened and you were told shrilly exactly what she thought of Western intellectuals. She was not terribly earnest about politics, but she had all the famous Russian temperament: she felt happy—then why didn't you? She was sad, then why did you prattle on instead of being sympathetic?

I became really fond of her after I learned certain things: that you could always please her—so that her big eyes seemed to say, "Yes, you're almost one of us"—by lending her English detective stories; that since she taught English in her school you must *not* correct her mistakes; that however equal women are in the Soviet Union, she bitterly resented any lack of attention in opening doors, taking her coat, passing dishes, and so on; that she liked compliments but of the old-fashioned, not in the least forward sort—as soon as you got one across, though, she might embark on a detailed, clinical description of the new process of painless childbirth without drugs.

I do not want to make her seem schoolmarmy or a pompous bluestocking. She was not; in fact, if the phrase had not such sentimental associations, I would describe her as a gallant little woman. What interested me about her, apart from the fact that I liked her, was that when provoked she was more anti-

Western than anybody else I met. But the provocation always had to be personal, not ideological. She used her anti-Western attitude to bolster her confidence or to smooth away some of her personal misgivings. That is not a very profound psychological observation, but one so frequently comes across examples of just that process behind people's anti-Soviet feelings in the West that it was interesting to find the same thing the other way round in Moscow. Still, if she happens to read this—and she might, for there are American and English magazines in many of the Moscow libraries—I send her my warm fraternal greetings.

K—— was a painter—seventy years old with a son of about forty who was also a painter. Before the revolution he was a count. I first met him in his Moscow studio. Studios are the same the world over—the same smell of turps and dust, the same awkward easel that is always so difficult to adjust to the size of the picture you want to show, the same confusion of old sketches, brushes, and canvasses, the same bare-board-floor working space, usually littered with cigarette ends. K—— was a fat man, rather slovenly in dress, just the sort of man you expect to have egg stains on his waistcoat. He wore thick glasses, and behind them you glimpsed small, kind eyes. If you saw a photograph of him, you would probably say he was a French cafe patron.

He was not particularly pleased to see me until he discovered that I also was a painter. Then he no longer bothered to put the canvasses into frames as he showed them to me. For a good many years he had numbered his pictures and was now up in the fifteen hundreds. Of these he had sold about eight hundred. Many of the rest were in his country studio; I told him that quite a few British painters had not even one studio, let alone two. His subjects were still lifes, portraits, and landscapes. No one could call his work socialist-realist. He was rather like the Fauves, with a good bit of Cézanne thrown in. Not a great genius, but even now a lively, sturdy, worth-while painter. Often he works with his son. They paint, for example, the same still life of fish and sea shells, and the results are nearly identical—except that the father's is always more youthful.

We talked for hours. Whenever he felt very strongly what he was saying, he seized the lapels of my jacket and tugged at them to emphasize each point. His hands were those of a baker—as if he kneaded the loaves he painted. His breath smelled of garlic and stale wine. On another occasion I met him at a rather fashionable party. At first he appeared ill at ease, but as he began to drink he became more expansive, laughed a lot, and as he talked began to slap his listener's arms or shoulders, like a farmer slapping cattle to judge their condition.

Among other things, we discussed Cézanne, and Veronese. When I told him that the year before I had seen some Veronese frescoes in Italy which he thought had been destroyed during the war, he became very excited and dug out a bottle of wine from under some old paint rags in a cupboard to celebrate my news. Then we talked about Soviet painting. "Of course," he said, "we have too many academic painters here, just as there are too many academic painters everywhere. But they're not perverse. They're good men, with good intentions—but very little talent. Now, though, we have a lot of students and young painters with more imagination—and thinking about Cézanne, too." He laughed at my thoughtful expression and added somewhat paternally, "I suppose you became a critic because you thought so much. But you don't need to, you know. *La vrai peinture* always triumphs in the end." And so, needless to say, we drank to *la vrai peinture,* to Cézanne, to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Van Gogh, to British painting, to Soviet painting. And suddenly, at his suggestion, to art criticism, while his small eyes twinkled.

THE headmaster of the main Moscow art school received me in his study. Study is exactly the right word, for the room was reminiscent of a nineteenth-century vicarage—none of your Swedish furniture but polished mahogany, leather chairs, heavy brass inkstands, painstaking but by no means dull students' drawings framed on the wall, and with it all the sort of untidiness that is the result of a room being much used, with arguments, references, examples constantly considered. The headmaster himself was a severe-looking man and only opened up when he discovered that I did know something about teaching. Then one saw that his severity was the result of a serious sense of responsibility, somewhat similar to the severity of the drawings on the wall.

Two other members of the staff came in: a youngish man with an intelligent face who, as I was to discover later, taught drawing very well though he had some nervous affliction which made his hands shake so badly that one wondered how he could hold a pencil; and an efficient-looking, voluntary-organization-secretary-type woman who handled sheaves of water colors with the routine deftness of a cashier with bank notes. Every so often as she flicked through them she took one out to show me. I said something about water color being a difficult medium and not altogether suitable for students aged fourteen to seventeen. Instantly I realized my mistake: the water-color class was her special preserve.

Later we went over the school. A nude model looks exactly the same either side of the Iron Curtain. And so do the students sitting astride their "donkeys" and squinting at the model to gauge her proportions—only in Moscow they are not so "arty" in dress.

When we got back to the study, the water-color woman, even crisper than before, produced another three folios of work. And this time I had to look through them really thoroughly, studying every sheet. Hundreds of them. It was a test of patience. Finally I gave in. "Well, perhaps water color is a useful discipline." Only then did she relax. The headmaster, having watched all this with considerable amusement, smiled knowingly as she knelt down on the floor to put her folios in order again.

"What do you think of this?" he asked, showing me a drawing of a man sleeping in a railway waiting-room. It was a really extraordinary drawing, and it is in front of me now as I write. I would forgive an experienced critic's mistaking it for a Delacroix. Actually, it was by a boy of fourteen.

The boy was sent for. He looked like a small edition of Huckleberry Finn—an effect emphasized by his worn, middle-nineteenth-century-type clothes. When I told him how good I thought his work was, he smiled, self-possessed but indifferent—not out of vanity but because he thought it eccentric to make such a fuss about mere drawings. They did not begin to touch his sense of adventure. One day we shall probably hear more of him. His name is Gernady Gladunov.

WITCH HUNT AT HUNTER

Triumph of the Primitives . . *by Broadus Mitchell*

RECENTLY three professors were dismissed from the faculty of New York City's Hunter College under the state's Feinberg law, which bars Communists from teaching in tax-supported schools and colleges. The core of the case against the three men was that they admitted to having been Communists in 1940-41. Two of the three offered evidence that they had left the party before the end of 1941.

Testimony taken before a trial committee of the Board of Higher Education of New York City fills more than a thousand pages. Preliminary examinations, exhibits, attorneys' briefs, and the hundred-page findings and recommendations of the committee add to this bulk. All the particulars are given—names, dates, quotations, authors, articles, orders, resolutions, statutes, events. But the ostensibly scrupulous legal protections are mocked by the peril of the accused from public prejudice and official dogmatism. Confusion, fear, and a narrow notion of the place of education in American society speak in fifty thousand lines of questions, answers, and final pronouncements.

One puts aside this mass of anger and suspicion, recriminations and replies, and asks what conclusions are to be drawn from the whole affair. I submit the following as the morals of the tale:

1. Inquisition into the opinions and associations of teachers in New York's municipal colleges has reached the stage of mere processing within the framework of law, ordinance, and directive. There is no questioning of the premises of declared policy. There is no "rule of reason" to temper the automatic application of prior pronouncement. A traffic violator who exhales into a "drunkometer" is not more bound by the indicator on the dial. This is disturbing when one reflects that the trial is not by a police magistrate but by citizens chosen to preside over municipal colleges. For wise decision in an area so delicate and disputable the judges must themselves be free. Where else is discretion so allowable, not to say enjoined? Of course, guides to administrative conduct are proper and inevitable, but in public higher education they should furnish the starting-point, not the finish line, of re-

BROADUS MITCHELL, professor of economics at Rutgers University, is a member of the Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sponsible inquiry and determination. In the present instance no latitude was claimed or exercised.

2. The belief that trial committees and full board were willing to abide by clamping rules is weakened only by the discreditable conviction that the respondents would have been let off, in one way or another, if they had yielded to the persistent probing of their examiners for the names of others connected with their supposed nefarious doings. Perhaps, if they had turned informer, they would have been pumped dry and then been discarded, but such determined searching, if satisfied, might have shown a low gratitude. In any event, the conduct of the particular defendant was constantly subordinated to the leads he might give to associates eligible for accusation. Yips under the trial table were from hounds eager to sniff any glove or shoe held to their practiced nostrils. This animal expectancy of more hunts to follow enlivened the otherwise dull hearings. It should be added that the three teachers acted on the belief that the investigation must be confined to their own thoughts and deeds, good or bad.

3. The integrity of public control of higher education has been brought into question. These cases, like all involving freedom of teaching, test the fitness of the governing authority—legislature, board, or trustees. It is a fact that in the recent and current alarm over communism in the colleges, actual or fancied, most of the few challenges have come from private institutions. Are the publicly supported ones so vulnerable to political pressure that they are unprepared to preserve intellectual independence? The desegregation decision of the Supreme Court honorably denies it, though in a different sphere of educational policy. The capacity of public supervisors to be protective as well as punitive is of critical portent when we view the prospects of private as compared with tax-maintained colleges and universities. Many of the former had to be helped by government during the last war, and continue to look to federal research subsidies for supplemental income. Their financial resources are weakened as denominational ties are relaxed. Grants from foundations are occasional, specialized, and uncertain. The economic and in many respects educational pull of gravity is toward the public institutions. They charge less or no tuition, offer generally superior physical facilities, command faculty talent proportional to better salaries and retirement systems.

Is the spirit of learning to be in the keeping of institutions, otherwise beset, which have not given hostages to political fortune? One of the accepted safeguards for freedom in education is that a faculty member should not be judged, in his academic conduct, until after his colleagues have passed upon it. In the present cases no such pertinent preliminary opinion was expressed. The trial committee spoke repeatedly of employees of the board, plainly meaning teachers as well as technical personnel. Is a municipal college or state university to be governed like a sewer department or turnpike authority? It is generally agreed that certain decisions in a health department are beyond the competence of official supervisory authority. The same is not vouchsafed to public education, where lay opinion readily intrudes.

The Hunter College cases here reviewed revealed that the board members were ignorant of the methods and content of instruction. One does not lightly characterize the shortcomings of esteemed citizens who accept unpaid, onerous responsibilities, but the present writer has been concerned with the subject matter of these hearings throughout a longish professional life. The questions put to witnesses were boorish, lacking in historical understanding, relying on the roughest rule of thumb. To say more would put the critic beyond the committee's confidence, as he is, thankfully, beyond their clutches. Much of the reluctance to testify was due to the fact that interrogators and indicted did not think in the same terms or speak the same language. Reading the accusing questions in the security of one's easy chair, it is hard to know where to begin with intelligent answers. The situation of those assailed was incomparably worse. At the same time, they did not always make the best witnesses for themselves, and one stood in bad light from the start because he had confessed concealing membership in the Communist Party from a legislative committee years before.

4. In this trial, as in most others of the sort, the prosecutor made no effort to show that the once-held beliefs or party loyalties of the defendants had entered into their teaching to mislead their students. This glaring omission was feebly excused with the observation that communism in the classroom is so cunning as to be impossible of detection; it is a non-filterable virus, defying scrutiny. Thus the accusers have it both ways: it is not opinions and privileged associations with which they interfere, and neither are they obliged to prove perverted performance. In these cases service to institution, pupils, and colleagues was long and exemplary. The animus of the trial committee reminds one of Aesop's wolf which accused the lamb of muddying his drinking water; to the answer that the lamb was downstream, the hungry wolf replied, "I'll eat you anyhow." The "anyhow" of the trial task force included the allegation, as bold as it was hazardous, that the respondents had proved their scholarly unfitness by adhering at times in the past to stigmatized doctrines and by conforming to party injunctions. Thus they—not the board in the present proceedings—had violated academic freedom, shackled their minds, caressed the donkey in midsummer revels. The truth is that teachers, like other mortals, have intellectual and moral commitments, and perhaps arrive at them more cautiously than some others do. If we are to pillory teachers for their attachment to beliefs, philosophical, political, religious—equating these with "closed minds" and unworthy acceptance of authority—the waiting-line behind the stocks must be long and number some very respectable characters.

The Board of Higher Education—since, mind you, it makes no charge of demonstrable academic malfeasance—claims to buy its faculty, skin and bones and hymn book too, for twenty-four hours of the day. This brings under correction whatever is disapproved. Fancy roamed in these cases, as it does generally. Swiftly the suspected association becomes a conspiracy, documented and denounced. Unpopular minority groups in American history have often been so described. Would you believe that the Second Bank of the United States fell into this hateful category? And, before that, the Society of the Cincinnati was a target, complete with secrecy, ritual, badge, foreign affiliation, and funds of mysterious donation; this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was not a patriotic, fraternal, and charitable order but an international military plot to subvert democracy.

As soon as an individual is found to have belonged to such a cabal his villainy is personal and comprehensive. He may have neglected his home work in a study group, but he subscribes to, is answerable for, every syllable in the party pronouncements and the writings of acknowledged leaders. He approved them so long as he did not resign and repent. In the Hunter trial the prosecuting counsel was unwearied in submitting for the record bits and pieces of Communist classics which without doubt the accused cherished in his heart. This preposterous business made the hearings resemble the court in "Alice in Wonderland" except that bench and bar could not be dismissed as cardboard.

5. The upshot of such a spasm in academic management, unless the dismissed teachers appeal successfully to the Commissioner of Education and, perhaps, to the courts, is to deprive the institution of useful faculty members. So far as can be gathered from the exhaustive record, these men, during twenty-five years or more, served their thousands of students well. One makes no apology for contrasting their factual utility with their alleged scholastic impurity. The college now sacrifices the benefits of their expensive training, rich experience, and acknowledged accomplishments. It is hard to find out what has happened to men similarly ejected in recent years. Probably only a few have found lodgment in other academic niches, for obvious reasons, and where this has occurred it has been after a worrisome hiatus; the new post, moreover, is apt to be temporary and otherwise less desirable than the old. To set adrift specialized scholars in their fifties is to inflict a personal hardship not always weighed in the fervor of prosecution. The actual dollars-and-cents cost of the investigation has been considerable —salaries of lawyers, stenographers, etc.

Supposing still that this is a tempest in a teapot, the damage is wider and deeper than has been mentioned. Academic freedom, here punished, must include the freedom, often and often, to be mistaken.

MARS OVER GERMANY

The Barracks Are Waiting . . *by Carolus*

Bonn, West Germany

THE oldest inhabitants cannot remember so bad a summer in Europe. The crops, which had promised to be good, rotted in the fields, and the seeds sown by the Western statesmen did not fare much better. People began to be superstitious about it. Flying saucers were sighted. Both France and Germany expected the descent of Martians. The abnormal weather was blamed on the atom bomb.

To the Adenauer clique things looked darkest, of course, when E. D. C. died. Once it appeared that there were to be no new German divisions, the Krupps and Kesselrings declared that all possibility of a Franco-German understanding was at an end. The scapegoat? The French Premier, naturally. "Mendès-France must go," said Adenauer, as if he were a French opposition deputy. In an interview with the London *Times* he even threatened to fling the Bonn republic into the arms of the Russians.

But after the stormy summer came the sunny autumn. Not the Martians but the Archangel Michael, in the person of John Foster Dulles, descended on London, Bonn, and Paris. E. D. C. is dead, long live E. D. C.! proclaimed the London conference. Amen! said the statesmen at Paris. The German farmers are smiling again: the state will reimburse them for the spoiled harvest. The German industrialists and generals are smiling too: the twelve divisions and prosperity are around the corner. The Bonn government is already distributing arms contracts, and German industrial stocks are skyrocketing. Only the German masses are fearful.

Between the London and Paris conferences the defeated proponents of E. D. C. and the successful architects of the London agreement heatedly debated such questions as how can we prevent the formation of a German general staff and a German national army? how can we keep a remilitarized Bonn from becoming the master of Western Europe? are four British divisions, stationed in Europe for fifty years, really the answer? Even government supporters in West Germany are sincerely concerned over the effect on German democracy and wonder how the future German army can be kept out of politics and the traditional Prussian military arrogance and brutality held in check. Prussia, Mirabeau once said, was the only country in the world in which the army owned the state. Must it happen again?

All this is empty rhetoric, as devoid of substance as the "controls" agreed upon at Paris. Whether Germany is rearmed under E. D. C. or under NATO will not make the slightest difference. Any Germany army will bear the stamp of its generals and officers. Some twenty thousand officers will be needed immediately for the contemplated twelve divisions. Who will they be? The only trained officers in Germany are those who served in Hitler's army. If after serving the Nazis they were still decent and honorable men they returned gladly to civilian life and will certainly not want to go back into the army. The only ones who will answer the call will be the Prussians, the adventurers, the sadists. Dr. Adenauer himself apparently sees the danger. *Der Spiegel,* a conservative Hamburg weekly, reports that in the course of a private conversation in London with Spaak of Belgium and Bech of Luxemburg he said:

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *West German correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I am convinced that the German national army which Mendès-France is forcing upon us represents a grave danger for Germany and Europe. I don't know what will become of Germany when I am no longer here if we don't succeed in creating European union. . . . Do not count on France, M. Bech, when the European states begin the nationalist game again. The French nationalists, despite their bitter experiences, are just as ready as the Germans to repeat their old maneuvers. They prefer Germany with a national army to a united Europe, for then they can play politics with the Russians. The German nationalists also are ready to go along with the Russians. Make the most of the time that I still live; once I am gone it will be too late.

The old statesman said only what is obvious to all unbiased observers—that this German army will prepare the way for a European adventure whose outcome is likely to be a much worse surprise to Americans than was the death of E. D. C.

Dr. Adenauer seeks to insure himself against catastrophe by mumbling "Europe." He does not seem to realize that his "Europe," even if it includes all the countries of NATO, is still only a rump Europe; and he refuses to draw the ultimate conclusion from his own fears—namely, that a German army will always be a German army, obedient neither to E. D. C. nor to a London agreement nor to a Paris agreement. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, we are starting something that we shall not be able to stop. Soon the twelve divisions will become twenty-four, and to even things up Moscow and its satellites will set up an additional twenty-four Polish-Czech divisions. Then the twenty-four German divisions will have to be increased to forty-eight. Moreover, this German army will be politically autonomous. The respected *Frankfurter Rundschau* said on October 2:

Armament control and a Bonn promise not to use force to back up territorial demands may be considered sufficient in London. But who can guarantee that these safety devices will be able to withstand the mounting pressure of a Germany that is constantly growing stronger? Who can guarantee that a German national army, even though only twelve divisions strong, will not become an autonomous power factor which one fine day will repeat Tauroggen or go in for Seekt politics? [It was at Tauroggen that a Prussian general betrayed France, then an ally, by going over to the Russians; General von Seekt, founder of the Reichswehr, made a pact with the Red Army in 1923.]

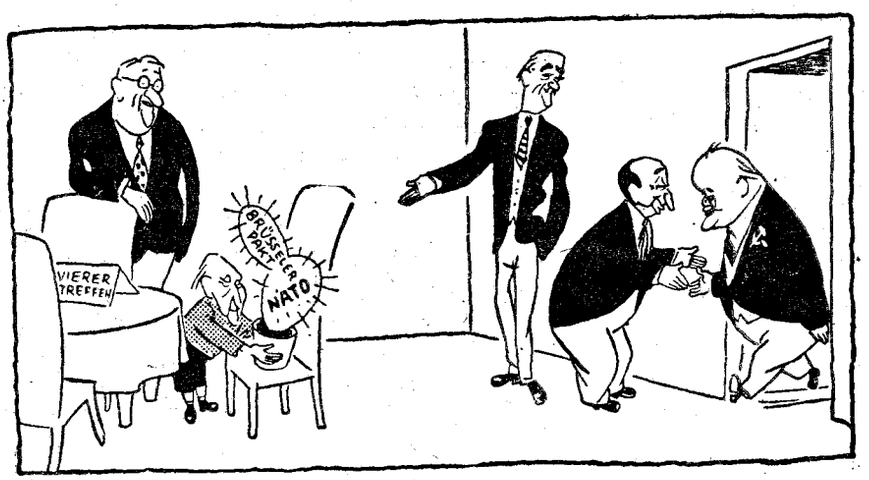
In London, Adenauer warned about what might happen to Germany, Europe, and the world after he is gone, but he has more pressing troubles at home. His coalition government needs patching almost from week to week. The conservative Free Democrats, the second strongest party in the coalition, is becoming increasingly restive and the impetuous Dr. Dehler, its leader, more outspokenly critical. Dehler and the industrialists will of course support rearmament and the agreements of London and Paris. The boom is on, and the smoke of busy arms factories will soon be rising above the Ruhr. But the Free Democrats are reluctant to destroy the last bridge to Eastern Europe and its markets. They want both an army and a "friendly" Russia. In one recent speech Dr. Dehler called not only for negotiations with Moscow but for German reunification "even if Russia does not permit free elections." This concession raised such a storm that he had to retract it. Yet he was only giving voice to the thinking of the industrialist and upper-middle-class groups which his party represents.

So much for one of Adenauer's strongest supporting parties. What about the opposition? On September 6, 1953, the Social Democrats received 8,000,000 votes in a federal election. Since then they have shown a gain of 10 per cent in elections in the industrial Rhineland and in agrarian Schleswig-Holstein. The party rejected London and Paris as sharply and for the same reasons that it rejected E. D. C. Its stand can be summarized as follows: West German rearmament means the end of German democracy, the perpetuation of the division of Germany, and heightened East-West tension. War will turn Germany into a second, greater Korea. Therefore Social Democrats want negotiations with the Russians looking toward German unification and peace. Only if these fail because of Russian intransigence will it be appropriate to talk about West Germany's military contribution to a defense against Russian aggression.

This was the position approved by the October convention of the Federation of German Trade Unions, which by a vote of 391 to 4 rejected the London agreement and remilitarization. The formerly independent Catholic trade unions voted with the majority; the four "no" votes were cast by two members of Adenauer's Cabinet and two Christian Democratic deputies. The Federation, which comprises six million West German workers, is the most powerful mass organization in West Germany and an incorruptible foe of communism. Its resolution on the London agreement read in part:

The convention affirms regretfully that the London agreement would prepare the way for the incorporation of the German Republic into a power bloc. This would prevent the relaxation of international tension and the reunification of Germany. For the German Republic earmament means the development of a military state, which in turn means an end to the workers' struggle for political, social, and economic democracy. This convention rejects any German contribution to defense until every effort has been made to institute negotiations aimed at bringing about international understanding and Germany's unification.

"There is still time," says the *Neue Vorwärts*, official organ of the Social Democratic Party. But on the day that the first German recruits enter their barracks at Bonn the die will have been cast.



From *Neue Vorwärts*

"See how fast it has grown!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

The Paradoxes of Dr. Toynbee

A STUDY OF HISTORY. Volumes VII-X. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford University Press, under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. $35.

By Frederick L. Schuman

ANY recent visitor to London privileged to penetrate the innermost sanctum of Chatham House on St. James's Square would have been ushered, through labyrinthine files of press cuttings on the top story, into a large book-lined study. At desks facing each other and overlooking the park he would have found a man and wife busily at work but eager to extend a warm welcome. The wife (Veronica M. Boulter) is pleasantly plump and palpably efficient. The husband is slim and slight, gray and gay—an exuberant yet saintly scholar.

On May 23, 1912, aged twenty-three, Arnold Toynbee sat eating chocolate on the citadel of Mistra in Laconia, overlooking the Vale of Sparta. Here, he tells us, he became aware, as he viewed the ruins below, of "a horrifying sense of sin manifest in the conduct of human affairs" and wondered whether "man's most damning vice was his brutality or his irrationality." And here came his first intuition of a synoptic view of history, which he set down in outline nine years later while crossing Thrace on the Orient express. In 1927-29 he began gathering notes. The first three volumes were published in 1934, the next three in 1939. War work again interrupted the enterprise. But with the aid of the Royal Institute, the Council of Foreign Relations, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Institute for Advanced Study, the labor was resumed under the stimulus of numerous lecture engagements on both sides of the Atlantic. The remaining four volumes are now in print. The magnum opus is thus complete, save for a promised eleventh volume of maps, geographical gazetteer by E. D. Myers, and consolidated index—to be later followed with a joint venture by man and wife in "reconsiderations," or *retractationes,* in St. Augustine's language.

We are here in the presence of one of the "Great Books" of our century or of any century. The final volumes, opening with a Latin poem and closing with a moving prayer, contain 2,688 pages, comprising 1,988 of text and fascinating footnotes; 29 of "Acknowledgements and Thanks"; 481 of "Annexes" which consist of 39 learned monographs, 14 tables, and 180 pages of index by Mrs. Toynbee. If any question remained from earlier instalments as to who is the world's outstanding living historian, the doubt is here resolved. In scope of vision, sharpness of analysis, charm of style, and depth of erudition, the "Study" is superlative. Its perusal is sheer intellectual excitement. Its completion opens a wholly new chapter in man's endless quest to comprehend the meaning of human experience. As a scholar and writer I am bound to say that I cannot fathom how the work was done. Granting that it is a "life work," granting conjugal collaboration, the aid of a staff, and the criticisms of many colleagues, particularly Martin Wight and William McNeill (with whom the author carries on footnote colloquies), the result is still an incredible masterpiece of virtuosity.

The Toynbeean morphology of the mortal adventure needs no recapitulation. Many are familiar with the superb "Surveys of International Affairs," edited and partly written by Toynbee each year since 1925. Four other works have been American best-sellers: D. C. Somervell's abridgment of Volumes I-VI (1947), "Civilization on Trial" (1948), "War and Civilization" (A. V. Fowler's excerpts, 1950), and "The World and the West" (1953). The first six volumes of the "Study" dealt with the Geneses, Growths, Breakdowns, and Disintegrations of Civilizations. The final four consider, *seriatim,* Universal States, Universal Churches, Heroic Ages, Contacts Between Civilizations in Space and Time, Law and Freedom in History, The Prospects of the Western Civilization, and The Inspirations of Historians. Every part is a feast, offering viands rare and rich—even if such dishes as "Epiphany" and "Necromancy" are overdone. Yet the banquet is not indigestible, thanks to the exquisite literary sauces and wines with which each course is served.

IF HE is critically discriminating, the intellectual gourmet will often be shocked and challenged, as the author intends him to be. The "Study" is not "objective" narrative—Toynbee has great fun ridiculing historians who believe in this myth—but a swift stream of judgments, political, military, moral, and religious, graciously expounded and perfectly calculated to promote controversy. Each reader can find his own bête-noire. For example, I have difficulty in believing that modern autocracy is attributable to the influence of Byzantium, via Sicily, on the Emperor Frederick II. And I am disturbed, even while indorsing Toynbee's indictment of all tribalistic nationalism, that he should accuse Zionists of betraying their faith by adopting "a pagan cult of 'blood and soil' " and of "evicting" the Palestinian Arabs in a "sin" as "heinous" as that of the Nazis. There is here no mention of what Toynbee well knows—that the "eviction" was invited by Arab governments engaged in a naked war of aggression which they hoped, at the time, to win. Other evaluations which some will quarrel with are innumerable. It is none the less exhilarating to find the foremost historian of our age boldly making judgments and seeking no refuge in a specious detachment.

But the context and purport of the judgments are the nub of the matter. Here we find a scintillating, self-consistent, and, I believe, empirically validated hypothesis of the life cycles of civilizations enmeshed in a series of provocative contradictions. To begin with, Toynbee, *mirabile dictu,* is not a historian at all in the eyes of those who

---

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN holds the Woodrow Wilson Professorship of Government at Williams College and is the author of "The Commonwealth of Man," "International Politics," "Soviet Politics," and other works on current world affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conceive of history as the record of unique events. He is a social scientist concerned with uniformities and periodicities ("how has this come out of that?") and aiming at a comparative anthropology of literate cultures. He brilliantly achieves the goal, or at least comes closer to it than anyone else. One can still regret that much of the most illuminating literature of anthropology, sociology, and economics is *terra incognita* in these pages.

ANOTHER anomaly is classicism, to which Toynbee owes much of his subtlety and artistry. He rejoices that by A. D. 1911 he had been privileged to study Latin for fifteen years and Greek for twelve. He scatters passages of both through his chapters, some of them his own compositions. Almost never does he condescend to translate, though he has no compunctions about translating German and sometimes French. His acknowledged model of the life cycles is the Graeco-Roman (Hellenic) civilization. Yet he quotes Spengler approvingly on the artificiality of the Renaissance and condemns the Humanist effort to revive the "ghost of Hellenism"—with only a footnote apology, lest he be guilty of "odious ingratitude to Hellenism itself," to the effect that his classical education was ideal for a historian since it gave him perspective by enabling him "to look at the society into which he happened to have been born with the alien eyes of an outsider whose spiritual home was Hellas."

Anomaly tertius: a philosopher of history owes debts to, and is presumably interested in, other philosophers of history. Yet Toynbee is reticent. Spengler, whose thesis is strikingly parallel—plus pyrotechnics on art, architecture, music, and science—is given only grudging tribute as "a pontifical-minded man of genius," afflicted with "dogmatism" and with the "fallacy" of "confusing societies with organisms." As for Spengler's "necessity," this, opines Toynbee, was an "airy conceit," crystallized into "the ponderous dogma under which a man of genius has perversely buried the brilliant findings of his intuitive insight," thus achieving "self-stultification." H. G. Wells is barely mentioned and then unfavorably, since the Toynbeean exigesis denies that man can shape his fate without the help of God. As for others, Toynbee gives us a priceless intellectual autobiography and bright vignettes of Gibbon, Polybius, Herodotus, Ibn Khaldun, and others, but not even a mention of Vico, Buckle, Danilevsky. Brooks Adams, Pareto, Berdyaev, Sorokin, Durant, or H. J. Muller.

Any "science" of history, moreover, should make prediction possible, at least in general terms. Here Spengler shines in retrospect and Toynbee shrinks in distaste from the task. He cannot decide whether the Western civilization is already in a state of breakdown, though in previous volumes he adduced much evidence that it was. He insists repeatedly that the "fall" of Rome in 476 A. D. was rendered inevitable by the Athenian-Spartan war of 431 B. C. and that this pattern applies to all civilizations. I cannot find any "proof" for this thesis. He likewise insists that we would *know* that our civilization is doomed if we had achieved a universal state, but since we have not, the prognosis is doubtful. This thesis, too, seems questionable.

If universal states decay, this result is surely due either to "old age," in Spengler's sense, or to the follies of leaders rather than to the misdeeds of remote ancestors. Toynbee contends—I believe rightly—that parochial nationalism is obsolete and that some form of voluntary world government must supersede it. But his speculations as to whether America or Russia can unify the world society are vitiated by his failure to consider adequately the disqualifications of both for the task, on which theme I have written elsewhere at length.*

As for the possibility of World War III, which he rightly fears will end all civilization, he fails to see, despite his many trenchant analyses of power politics, that policy-makers of great powers never unleash general war unless they can persuade themselves that they have a decisive margin of superiority and a plausible strategic plan for victory. Neither of these preconditions of Armageddon now exists or is likely to materialize in the calculable future.

What is most puzzling, albeit inspiring, is the coruscating spectacle of Toynbee turned theologian. History is now "God revealing Himself in action" and a search for God "seen face to face." It follows that human affairs become intelligible only in terms of divine will. Since religion is "man's most important pursuit," Gibbon and Frazer were mistaken in regarding it as a source of social conflict and decline. Furthermore, all civilizations are not philosophically on a par, as Toynbee previously argued. Those of the "second generation"—that is, the Syriac, Indic, Hellenic, and Sinic—which gave rise to the "higher religions" were the most significant. Universal churches thus become the real units of study, while Christianity emerges as the purest embodiment of God's grace. Since the freedom of human souls is "the law of God," the problem of determinism disappears, for "Law and Freedom in History prove to be identical, in the sense that Man's freedom proves to be the law of a God who is identical with Love."

All of this, with its equating of religion and sacerdotal bureaucracies, its use of "law" in several senses, and its claim to read God's purpose, is perplexing enough. When Toynbee goes on to argue that a sick civilization can save itself by a "return to God," confusion is worse confounded, the more so as he has demonstrated convincingly in other passages that suffering is the prerequisite of salvation and that the higher religions were all fruits of, and not panaceas for, the breakdowns of the civilizations in which they emerged. Here Spengler is more persuasive. If man is mortal, then the works of men are mortal. "These things too shall pass away," said the ancient wise men. Toynbee grants that any "immortality in this world would prove a martyrdom." He nevertheless implies, in the spirit of the Egyptiac pyramid-builders, that religion can immortalize the institutions as well as the souls of Western mankind.

YET Toynbee does come to grips with the riddle of the ages. If he does not reconcile God to the ways of man, he almost reconciles man to the ways of God. But the historian, like Job, knows full well that mundane success is not the reward of virtue and that worldly woe is not the wages of sin. Virtue has value only as its own reward. Wisdom and virtue together, as Plato hoped, may serve to save a sick society. But neither alone can turn the trick. God still helps those who help themselves.

*"The Commonwealth of Man," pp. 173-253.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A civilization which only God can save is already beyond salvation. Toynbee is a new Jeremiah, thundering against the vices of his fellows. But he is also, despite his denials, a new St. Augustine, bidding us flee an earthly City of Destruction for a heavenly City of God.

So much said, Toynbee still deserves a crown of glory from liberals for being on the side of the angels in our troubled time. Marxists will denounce him. The witch-hunting neo-barbarians would do likewise if they were capable of understanding him. Although his major market is a somewhat demented America, he quotes Owen Lattimore and Paul Robeson with warm approval, pays his bitter respects to the McCarran Act, and displays full understanding of McCarthyism. More than this, he utters a powerful warning against religious wars and ideological crusades as "the greatest menace to the welfare and existence of the human race." And he sees, as few Americans are yet able to see in their self-righteous horror of heresy, that "the world's first need . . . is a *détente* between the United States and the Soviet Union," comparable to the Roman-Parthian peace of two millennia ago, involving "coexistence" on the basis of "a pacific partition of the *Oikoumenê* for an indefinite time to come."

On these fateful current issues, as on all else to which he turns his mind and heart, he illumines what is dark, clarifies what is obscure, and vindicates the obvious for a generation addicted to regarding its hallucinations as realities. His voice is among the most eloquent of our years. It is a voice of sanity and salvation, inspired by deep concern for truth, beauty, and love. It is therefore a voice from on high, summoning men to keep faith, to cherish one another, and to prove worthy of their strange destiny—which no one has done more to record and explain than Arnold J. Toynbee.

NOW YOU CAN SUBSCRIBE TO

MEANJIN

Australia's Leading Magazine of Literature and Art

Edited by C. B. Christesen

In **Meanjin** you will find a cross-section of the best literary work being written in Australia today. This 160-page quarterly, now in its fifteenth year of publication has rightly gained an international reputation. British Commonwealth and North American writers of note also contribute to **Meanjin.**

You can enter your subscription now at the rate of $4 for one year.

MEANJIN
University of Melbourne
Carlton, No. 3, Victoria, Australia

Go East, Young Woman

THE WILDER SHORES OF LOVE. By Lesley Blanch. Simon and Schuster. $5.

By Bennett Epstein

TWO noble Englishwomen of the nineteenth century defied every Victorian convention to find complete fulfilment of their womanhood in the East. A third, a French convent-bred girl born several decades earlier, attained more freedom to realize herself as a woman and an individual in the Turkish seraglio into which she had been abducted than is enjoyed by most Western women who have fought for and gained political and economic rights today. Another woman, the Russian Isabelle Eberhardt, also escaped to the East to find an outlet for her romantic nature. But unlike the others she never found happiness. Her short life extended into this century, when her yearning for self-expression was complicated by women's fight for suffrage and careers instead of for fulfilment as women.

That is the author's theme. In relating the tumultuous experiences of her four heroines she resists pretty successfully what must have been a constant temptation to indulge in purple passages. Throughout these four wildly romantic adventure stories she keeps her head and appraises her characters and their fiery exploits with intelligence and wit.

Isabelle Arundel was born to the English nobility and reared in strict accord with all the customs of early Victorian society. When she first caught sight of the already fabulous Richard Burton, while on a prim young-ladylike walk with her sister, she realized instantly that something wild and undisciplined flashing from his eyes was the complete answer to impulses buried deep in her own nature. They met on a few subsequent occasions and four years later entered into an engagement, casual on his part and a holy dedication on hers. It was ten years before she consummated her ambition to join her life to his.

The following thirty-one years were devoted wholly to furthering Richard Burton's interests and fighting tigerishly to combat the unpopularity which his undisciplined spirit created wherever he went. There were long sojourns in the jungles of Brazil and even wilder places, but it was during the years while he was consul in Damascus that Isabelle's romantic craving found its fullest satisfaction.

Although his monumental translation of the "Arabian Nights" offended the Victorian prudery still lurking in her wild nature and the devout Catholicism to which she was always trying vainly to convert him, her abject devotion permitted no word or gesture of protest. After his death, however, whether from a misguided desire to keep his reputation pure for posterity or as a masterstroke to make him wholly hers in eternity as she had never been quite able to do in life, she destroyed all his un-

BENNETT EPSTEIN, formerly a regular reviewer for a Chicago newspaper, now does free-lance writing.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

published journals. Into the sacrificial fire went also the manuscript of his translation of the erotic "Persian Garden" which would have brought a fortune to her last poverty-stricken years.

Jane Digby, granddaughter of an earl and also reared in the narrow English tradition, was already an acknowledged beauty at seventeen when she was married to Lord Ellenborough. Her story is one of many love affairs and at least four marriages. Her lovers and husbands included an Austrian prince, two kings (father and son), a Greek count, and an Albanian general. Her last marriage, when she was almost fifty, to a Bedouin sheik was to prove the final answer to all her romantic longings. Until her death, some thirty years later, she was a fulfilled and triumphantly happy woman. Her life was passed for six months each year in the Oriental splendor of her Damascus palace and for the other six months in the black hair tents of the desert.

Aimée Dubucq de Rivery did not choose the East voluntarily as the others had done. While returning to her native Martinique, after eight years in a convent school in France, her ship was seized by Barbary pirates and she was brought captive to the Bey of Algeria. As a mark of deepest respect he presented the blonde beauty to his master, the Sultan of Turkey. Her seclusion until her death, many years later, behind the inviolate gates of the seraglio must have brought to her, too, a fulfilment, for she never attempted to escape or rebelled against her imprisonment. She became the favorite of the Sultan and the mother of his successor. She retained, under the exotic and erotic experiences which she had accepted, some latent traces of her ancestry and upbringing and throughout her life exerted her great influence over her son to bring many Western ideas into his domestic and foreign policies.

Isabelle Eberhardt's short life was packed with even wilder adventures. Her flight to the East was not an escape from the restraints of a conventional upbringing. She was the daughter of a Russian general but was reared in the irregular household which her mother had established in Geneva with the Armenian tutor she had taken for her lover. Isabelle was almost twenty before she sought the East as an answer to her urges. There she cut off her hair, dressed as a man, adopted Islam as her religion, and lived a nomadic life in the deserts and cities of Algeria. She drank, smoked hashish, and had innumerable love affairs until her anomalous death, by actually drowning in the desert.

She shared with the other women a consuming drive toward an outlet that could be found only on the wilder shores of life. But according to the author's thesis, her particular urge for freedom had become complicated and diverted by twentieth-century misconceptions of what women really want.

Interestingly enough, the author herself is a career woman. According to the jacket of the book she has been a painter, book illustrator, caricaturist, dramatic critic, editor of the London *Vogue*, traveler, and wife of a French diplomat. She speaks, therefore, with considerable authority in her evaluation of women's changing goals.

Collapse of the Grand Coalition

AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND RUSSIA. THEIR CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT, 1941-1946. By William Hardy McNeill. Oxford University Press. $15.

By William A. Williams

PROFESSOR McNEILL'S account of the rise, crumbling, and collapse of the Grand Coalition against the Axis powers and Japan is a thoughtful narrative of the war years which concludes with a statement of five generalized and long-run consequences of the conflict. The "supra-national administration" that developed included all the Allied powers. The "changed relation between Britain and America" reflected the predominant economic power of the United States in the Western world. As this displacement occurred, Washington came slowly to share the geopolitical and colonial attitudes of its former equals, particularly Britain, and thus thought more and more of combining the non-Soviet world in a political and economic unit.

Having acquired this preponderant influence, America, McNeill suggests, used it in an effort to give substance to what he calls the "great myth" promulgated by President Roosevelt. This vision of peace and plenty as the product of the labors of men of good-will originated in Wilson's earlier crusade, of course, but Roosevelt certainly inflated it—both with rhetoric and with something more tangible. Idealistic as myths are in conception, however, they are a vapor which can be used to drive the high-compression engines of power politics down the road of atom warfare. And while Professor McNeill suggests that Roosevelt's ideal of peace and prosperity became "transformed and hardened," he is at his weakest in discussing this central event of the years 1945-46.

For this reason his handling of the Onset of the Cold War and his discussion of the "promotion of the social revolution" inherent in war-time planning are not as satisfying as the other sections of the book. Elsewhere Professor McNeill has been slapped on the wrist for giving the Russians too much the benefit of the doubt in his discussion of these two related developments. Since he tries to understand Soviet policy instead of condemning it *ipso facto*, this criticism is perhaps explicable. It is not justified. McNeill sees clearly enough the grave dangers to individuality that are inherent in the conscious allocation of resources for social ends, and he spares no relevant observations on this phase of life in the Soviet Union.

The weakness of his work lies along another line. After exploring many different alternatives McNeill comes back again and again to the hypothesis that Stalin wanted three things—security against Germany, restoration of Russia's old position in the Far East, and aid for the economic reconstruction of the U. S. S. R. (In discussing the last concern, McNeill slights important Soviet and American sources which would strengthen his argument.) Of these three objectives security against Ger-

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS, professor of history at the University of Oregon, is the author of "American Russian Relations, 1781-1947."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many, McNeill concludes, was most important. But in the absence of outside economic aid the problem of Germany became interwoven with Russian reconstruction.

This would seem to be of key importance, for Moscow has persisted in these minimum objectives from the December, 1941, talks with Eden through the October, 1944, deal with Churchill to the present. McNeill neglects to note, however, that this Soviet line ties in with his own concept of Roosevelt's myth and the promotion of the social revolution. This reviewer agrees with McNeill's insistence that the Roosevelt-sponsored myth is of paramount importance, and likewise shares his concern over the dangers of a "managed" economy. But is it not just possible that the myth can be realized by grappling with the dangers?

Of course, we are today in the midst of a revival of the old American theory that all problems are political rather than economic, but this should not blind us to the fact that "it just ain't so"—as an Iowa farmer remarked at a mortgage auction in 1931. More important, it was not so for the Russians. Their concern with security and reconstruction was a thoroughly homogenized mixture of economics and politics. Thus the Americans, in their combined indifference to economic problems, their separation of economics and politics, and their overweaning fear of planning, could not effectively shape Roosevelt's myth into reality. And while McNeill tends to discount the fact in his discussion of the years after Roosevelt's death, it seems obvious that many who then assumed control of policy either did not take seriously or did not understand the myth itself. The promotion of the social revolution tended, therefore, to become the promotion of the status quo ante bellum.

Professor McNeill has not written the definitive story of these years. That was not his aim. Nor was it possible at the time he did his work. But this reviewer wishes McNeill would take the time to write an interpretative summary of his book so that those who can spend $3 but not $15 could benefit from his insights and research. Such a book would not save the world, but it would make it more comprehensible.

Books in Brief

Our Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume VI: Patriot and President. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Scribner's. $7.50.

Volume VI resumes the vast narrative of Washington's life with the Revolutionary War at an end and Washington himself home at last at Mount Vernon in time for Christmas of 1783. His exploration of a water route between the Ohio and the Potomac, the Constitutional Convention, the struggle to ratify the Constitution in Virginia, and Washington's first term in the Presidency are the great themes of this volume, which closes with his sixty-first birthday on February 22, 1793, and his second inauguration ten days later. Dr. Freeman revised the last pages only an hour or so before his sudden death. One reads those pages with poignant regret that their author was not permitted to complete his ambitious enterprise. Incomplete, and with whatever errors and faults time may discover in it, it is without rival on every count among Washington biographies. Nevertheless, Dr. Freeman had still to confront the crucial test of a Washington biographer—those embittered, even tragic, later years,

(ADVERTISEMENT)

TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with Baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church that it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel], (Isa. 42). Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?) Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MEANING OF NOVEMBER 2

. . . brought to you in a series of special *Nation* reports.

COMING

November 20

An analysis of the election results and what they portend written exclusively for *The Nation* by LOUIS BEAN.

An outstanding authority in the field, Bean is the author of three books—"Ballot Behavior," "How to Predict Elections" and "The Mid-term Battle"—which have become classics of political science. His latest work is a study for the Public Affairs Institute on "Influences in the 1954 Mid-Term Elections."

COMING

November 13

A series of authoritative, post-election round-ups from key areas: Richard Lewis (Chicago *Sun-Times*) writes on the campaign in Illinois; David van Praagh (Trenton *Times*) covers the New Jersey campaign; James Higgins (York *Gazette and Daily*) deals with events in Pennsylvania. Other reports will cover the important races in Massachusetts, California, and Oregon.

PLUS

***The Nation's* regular hard-hitting editorial comment and other special features.**

when Washington seemed less the father of the whole country than the head of a mere party.

Dr. Freeman's great purpose was to demonstrate that the Washington of history is identical with the Washington of the American faith, and as far as he had gone he had succeeded brilliantly, beyond even his own anticipation. But what of the unwritten final volume? He would vindicate Washington's course completely if he could, but indications are scattered through "Patriot and President," especially in Chapter 15, that he had not yet solved the problem to his own satisfaction. What that solution would have been must remain guesswork; but though "there were omens the road would be stony and cloud-covered, and there were voices prophesying strife," Dr. Freeman would have traversed it unfalteringly loyal to his subject and to the truth of history.

Colorful Portrait

MELBOURNE. By David Cecil. Bobbs-Merrill. $5.

This book fully deserves the critical acclaim it has won on both sides of the Atlantic. Lord David Cecil's portrait of the splendid Georgian relic who was Victoria's first Prime Minister has all the contour and color of a Lawrence canvas. The high lights of the historical background are vividly painted; the subsidiary figures are sharply observed—Melbourne's cool, clever, ambitious mother; Caroline, his wife, whose charms dissolved into hysterical egotism and finally mental unbalance; Caroline Norton, the flamboyant friend of his later years; the young Queen to whom he gave paternal devotion; his political colleagues, Canning, Brougham, Durham, Lord John Russell.

Sympathetic as the portrayal is, it does not gloss over Melbourne's shortcomings. He was a man whose fund of youthful idealism was quickly smothered in cynicism. Conservative to the core, he reluctantly presided over the fortunes of Britain when it was in the throes of rapid political and economic change. He resisted change as long as possible giving way only when popular pressure became overwhelming and the alternative to reform seemed to be revolution.

The private Melbourne—a wit, a charming eccentric, a man of heart—is far more attractive than the public one whose patrician remoteness kept him from any understanding of the problems of poverty. As Home Secretary he was harsh in his maintenance of law and order and was responsible for the deportation of the Dorchester laborers whose only crime was an attempt to organize a trade union. "One finds oneself," as Lord David well says, "brought up with a jarring shock against the contradictions of the period, the discrepancy between the civilized humanity of upper-class private life and the blood and iron harshness which was accepted as a necessary feature of the criminal law." No one better personified those contradictions than Melbourne.

A Successful Teacher

GEORGE PIERCE BAKER AND THE AMERICAN THEATER. By Wisner Payne Kinne. Harvard. $6.

George Pierce Baker was a controversial figure. Some accused him of being too much interested in the commercial theater; some doubted that his successful students really learned much from him; and Harvard finally surrendered him to Yale, presumably because it did not regard his activities as academically respectable. The fact remains that no other course in the "creative arts" seems to have sent so many successful practitioners out into the world. Remove Eugene O'Neill, Philip Barry, Edward Sheldon, Sidney Howard, Winthrop Ames, Lee Simonson, Theresa Helburn, Elia Kazan, and all the rest from Broadway, and its last two decades would no longer be recognizable. This is the first full study of Baker's entire career, which began conventionally enough under the tutelage of Barrett Wendell and included multifarious theatrical activities besides those most known. In fact, he was into everything, and the whole story is here told with full documentation. It is a little too detailed and complete for the average reader perhaps but a real contribution to theatrical history.

The Sins of the Father

SON OF OSCAR WILDE. By Vyvyan Holland. Dutton. $3.75.

The two sons of Oscar Wilde were nine and eleven years old when their father went to prison. Biographers have usually done no more than mention their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

existence, and this book by the younger of the two explains why. Because of the almost insanely vindictive attitude of the British public they were sent away to the Continent and not told why they would never see their father again. After their mother died a few years later they were brought back to England, sent to separate schools, and given new names. An attempt was made to destroy "all evidence that might conceivably connect us with the family of Wilde" while at the same time it was "impressed upon us that we must never mention our father's name to anyone, particularly in connection with ourselves," Mr. Holland, as he is now called, tells us. He was eighteen before he learned from a book the nature of his father's offense, but he survived the whole experience rather better than his brother, who entered the army, developed into a lonely fanatic obsessed by a determination to achieve the "manly" virtues, and was killed in World War I. "The story . . . may show the bitter cruelty of those self-righteous human beings who forget that Christ said 'Suffer the little children to come to me,' and base their religion on the Old Testament pronouncement that 'the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children.'"

On Both Sides of the Barrier

SOUTH STREET. By William Gardner Smith. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

The situation of the American Negro has been described in documentary fiction of enormous power. In recent years, however, the focus has shifted from the "Negro problem" as such to the individual men and women on both sides of the racial barrier—a barrier which does not exist for one group alone.

In "South Street" William Gardner Smith recreates a Negro community by reaching deeply into its human element. He offers an emotional and psychological portrait as well as a protest in a book which may disconcert readers accustomed to novels dealing with the Negro as under-dog. Smith carries his story into the very heart of Negro-white relationships, including those areas which all too often are injected into narratives to produce sensation. He confronts emotional problems with a profound awareness that human alternatives are seldom if ever clearly separated, that the choice is far more difficult than the social pharmacists imply.

Fashioning his novel with a rich use of dramatic device, Smith demonstrates that "problems" give added dimension to fiction only when the characters show the courage, weakness, and contradictions of life itself.

Selected New Books

Social Sciences

CHRISTIAN VALUES AND ECONOMIC LIFE. By John C. Bennett, Howard R. Bowen, William Adams Brown, Jr., and G. Bromley Oxnam. Harper. $3.50. A lay-clerical team is responsible for this new volume in the excellent series on Ethics and Economic Life produced by a study committee of the Federal Council of Churches. Despite differences of emphasis, there appears to be a wide area of agreement between the theologians, Messrs. Bennett and Oxnam, and the economists, Messrs. Bowen and Brown.

FAIR COMPETITION: THE LAW AND ECONOMICS OF ANTITRUST POLICY. By Joel B. Dirlam and Alfred E. Kahn. Cornell. $4.50. When David Lilienthal two years ago wrote an article for *Collier's* entitled Our Anti-Trust Laws Are Crippling America, he echoed the opening of a number of economists, as well as many business men, who claim that recent decisions of the courts and actions of the Department of Justice have perverted the Sherman and Clayton acts. Messrs. Dirlam and Kahn challenge this view very effectively by means of a careful analysis of anti-trust policies and decisions during the past fifteen years.

ECONOMIC DOCTRINE AND METHOD: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH. By Joseph Schumpeter. Translated by R. Aris. Oxford. $3.50. The scope of this little book, published in 1912 and not previously available in English, is indicated by its chapter headings: The Development of Economics as a Science; The Discovery of the Circular Flow of Economic Life; The Physiocrats (Adam Smith); The Classical System and Its Offshoots; The Historical School and the Theory of Marginal Utility. An important work for professionals but heavy sledding for laymen.

PEOPLE OF PLENTY: ECONOMIC ABUNDANCE AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. By David M. Potter. Chicago. $3.50. In this study Professor Potter seeks to combine the disciplines of the historian and the "behaviorial scientist"—horrid phrase! His most original contribution is his final chapter, Abundance and the Formation of Character, in which he discusses the revolutionary impact of plenty on the upbringing of children, beginning with such fundamental matters as eating habits and toilet training.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE opening concert of the Concert Society of New York gave me my first opportunity to hear the Quartetto Italiano in Town Hall—which is to say my first opportunity to hear the full beauty of its playing. In the Y. M. H. A. auditorium three years ago the sound—marvelously pure and transparent, and marvelously blended—had been dry; in Town Hall this time it had warmth and luster. The tone, and the refinement of style and phrasing, produced a performance of Haydn's superb Op. 77 No. 1 that was a delight to the ear and mind, and—except for some excessive nuances of tempo in the slow movement—as convincing in its own way as the robust performance by the Schneider Quartet.

At this concert the duo-pianists Dougherty and Ruzicka played Schubert's Sonata Op. 30 and "Lebenstürme" Op. 144; and I am not sure that even stronger-profiled playing would have made these pieces much more interesting.

The extraordinary qualities of the Quartetto Italiano appear to be those of a new generation of Italian string players of virtuoso caliber who have chosen to present themselves to the public in ensemble groups. In addition to the Quartetto Italiano we have had the Virtuosi di Roma, on Decca records and in a concert of the Concert Society last year;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEGINNING
NOVEMBER 13

—❖—

Movie Criticism in The Nation

by

ROBERT HATCH

❖ In the issue of November 13, and every other week thereafter, Robert Hatch will review the latest films.

❖ Formerly a senior editor of the *New Republic* and its movie critic for three years, Hatch is now editor of *Center: a Magazine of the Performing Arts*, the new journal of the theater published by the New York City Center.

❖ You will enjoy Hatch's incisive knowledgeable reviews. *The Nation* is proud to add him to its staff of regular critics.

LECTURES

SCOTT NEARING courses: Tuesday, November 9, **6:30–8:00 P. M. "FIRE OUT OF HEAVEN": 8:30–10:00 P. M. "HISTORICAL TRENDS IN THE SOVIET UNION."** Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd Street & 8th Avenue, N. Y. C. $1.10 at door; course ticket $3.50. Auspices: **Monthly Review Associates, 218 West 10th Street, N. Y. C. OR 5-6939.**

PUBLICATIONS

FREE catalogs on Social-economic Movements, etc. regularly from: **The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6 England.**

then the Società Corelli, on Victor records and in a concert of the Concert Society later this year; and now I Musici, on Angel records and in another later concert of the Concert Society—all playing with a refinement of execution, tone, and phrasing, a warmth, grace, and style that rise to exciting incandescence. Their speciality is old Italian music; and on Angel 35087 I Musici play four engaging works of Vivaldi: the Concertos in A major and D minor ("Madrigalesco") for strings, D minor for viola d'amore and strings, and D major for violin and strings. I haven't been able to check on whether the first and third works are the ones previously recorded by the Virtuosi di Roma; but as against the coarseness I reported in the recorded sound of the Virtuosi performances, I can report that the I Musici performances are beautifully reproduced.

Playing of remarkable beauty and refinement by the Orchestre National de la radiodiffusion française under Inghelbrecht is also to be heard in Debussy's Nocturnes and Prelude to "L'Après-midi d'un faune" on Angel 35103; and if such playing were all that was necessary, these would be the performances we have been waiting for. But "Nuages" is too fast, and at times too impassioned, for an evocation of "the immutable aspect of the sky and the slow solemn motion of the clouds"; the opening section of "Fêtes," on the other hand, is too slow for gaiety and excitement, and the even slower middle section is much too slow for the procession; and I think the first part of the "Faun" piece should be less impassioned than this performance makes it.

A second song recital by Elisabeth Schwarzkopf is on Angel 35023—this one of lovely and charming songs by Bach, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Wolf, and Strauss, including a few—Schubert's "Litanei," Schumann's "Aufträge" and "Der Nussbaum"—that are outstanding. The performances range from the exquisite sustained singing in "Litanei," in "Der Nussbaum," in Wolf's "Wiegenlied," to the excessively arch and staccato delivery of "Aufträge," the excessively dramatized delivery of Brahms's "Vergebliches Ständchen," the excessively fine-spun delivery of Schubert's "Ungeduld." Fine piano accompaniments by Gerald Moore; and German texts as well as English summaries.

London LLA-22 offers a Vienna State Opera performance of Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier" with an almost perfect cast directed by Kleiber. The major imperfection is the sensuously unalluring and quavering soprano voice of Maria Reining, which makes her Marschallin unbelievable; a minor one is the quavering bass-baritone of Alfred Poell, which can be considered suitable to the part of von Faninal, but is saddening nevertheless to anyone who recalls Poell's magnificent voice of a few years back. Otherwise the singing, not only of major but of minor roles—not only by Sena Jurinac (Octavian), Hilde Gueden (Sophie), and Ludwig Weber (Ochs), but by Anton Dermota (A Singer) and Hilde Rossl-Majdan (Annina)—is superb, as is the work of the chorus, the orchestra, and the conductor. The recorded sound is excellent; but there is a drop in volume on sides 1 and 5. And with a recording of the work without the customary cuts London provides a libretto *with* those cuts—the result being annoying confusion for the listener.

The pre-1914 Chaliapin recordings dubbed onto Scala 801 surprise me with a voice that hasn't the dark beauty and subtleties of coloring that were so affecting in the voice I heard in the twenties. And this provides an occasion to mention something pointed out to me by Mr. William H. Seltsam: that the Ponselle performances on Scala 803 were recorded originally by Columbia at speeds higher than 78 rpm; and that as rerecorded by Scala at 78 rpm they are as much as a full tone too low. This should alter the timbre of the voice; but it comes off the record the Ponselle voice that I remember.

SPECIAL COMBINATION OFFER

YOU CAN SAVE 25%

By placing combined annual subscriptions for the following magazines in English from the USSR for 1955.

This offer will terminate by November 20

Combination Number One
SOVIET LITERATURE • NEW TIMES • SOVIET WOMAN

Combination Number Two
SOVIET WOMAN • NEW TIMES • SOVIET UNION

Combination Number Three
NEW TIMES • SOVIET LITERATURE • SOVIET UNION

Regular subscription rate for any of the three combinations $8.50.

Our special offer $6.35

This offer applies also to other languages in which the above magazines are being published: **French, German, Spanish, Swedish, Polish and Chinese.**

Please send your subscription orders promptly as the number of subscriptions to be accepted is limited. **Remittance with orders.**

Our complete catalogue "Periodica-55" sent free on request.

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION

55 WEST 56th STREET
New York 19, N. Y.

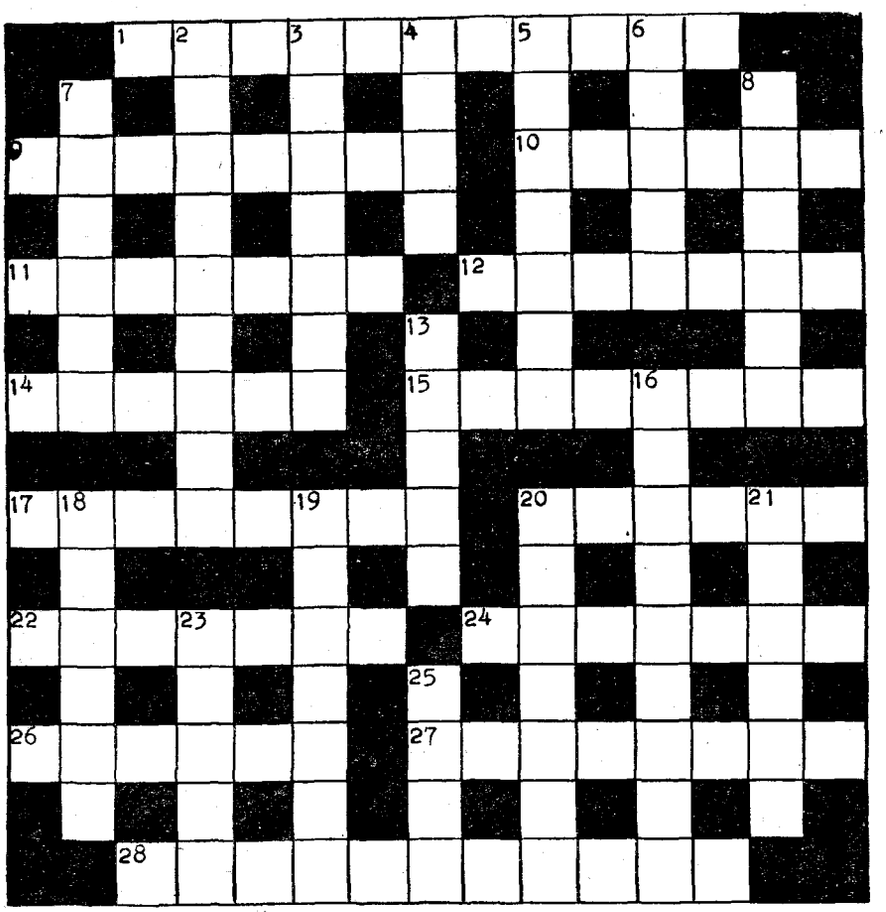
822 BROADWAY. (cor. 12 St.)
New York 3, N. Y.

GRamercy 3-2018—19

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 592

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 No! No! It goes twice as loud here for Pierre and little Albert! (11)
9 This is left up to the malicious. (8)
10 Spread throughout the army for its own good. (6)
11 See 23 down.
12 Leave one degree, and not off the end. (7)
14 See 23 down.
15 Never owe this—you might get to be conceited. (8)
17 Deer more than half get last. (8)
20 Took a seat in front of the vessel, with rings around it. (6)
22 And make the vessel come around with fruit on board. (7)
24 See 23 down.
26 Fish—you might find it in a sort of favor. (6)
27 Incidentally, you might mention this. (8)
28 See 23 down.

DOWN

2 Sort of uprooted about you, in an effused way. (9)
3 Like an errant cop without much of an accent? (7)
4 See 23 down.
5 Associated Press overseas dispatch about ready? (7)
6 See 23 down.
7 Peek? (6)
8 See 23 down.
13 See 23 down.
16 Tough wits, and how they act when keen. (4, 5)
18 I don't stay and turn bad like a native. (6)
19 Not found in the incoming mail tray. (7)
20 Commonly exhausted, and all in, like a bulb. (7)
21 This might turn to rain, but conceivably could be welcome. (6)
23, 13, 8, 28, 6, 24, 14, 11 and 4. Evidently some lions are in front of the killing, and a stiff drink is due before next autumn. (5, 5, 6, 11, 3, 2, 7, 6, 6, 1, 4)
25 This involved a one-sided cross! (4)

●⟷●

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 591

ACROSS:—1 and 22 ON SECOND THOUGHT; 9 TEST TUBE; 10 RAVINES; 12 YIELD; 13 ICEMAN; 14 CEUTA; 15, 8 and 11 NATURE ABHORS A VACUUM; 17 HUMUS; 22 TUNED; 23 AMPERE; 24 RIGHT; 26 OENONE; 28 USERS; 29 CLOUDED; 30 EXECUTOR; 31 EGG-HEAD; 32 ASCENDED.

DOWN:—1 OUTLYING; 2 SUSPECTS; 3 CITED; 4 NUBBIN; 5 ABEAM; 6 COSINES; 7 ASPECTS; 16 ROUTED; 18 HEROD; 19 and 21 DESERTED VILLAGE; 20 CENSORED; 25 SEIXAS; 27 NEPAL; 28 and 10 UNCLE REMUS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

Green Acres Lodge
45 Miles N. Y. C. • OPEN ALL YEAR
Picturesque Estate Seasonal Sports
Excellent Food
Central Valley, N. Y. Tel: Highland Mills 3071

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis. Folk Dancing and Singing. 4 cozy fireplaces. 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Free $3.00. Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.

SITUATION WANTED

MAN with background in social sciences wants job with organization that promotes some public interest. Box 385, c/o The Nation.

PERSONALS

IMPORTED 20" BICYCLE—With coaster brake, pump and tool bag. SPECIAL $34.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N .Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
●
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
●
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHERE TO RETIRE TODAY AND AFFORD IT

by Norman D. Ford

If there is anything I have found out in traveling up and down this country and throughout the rest of the world, it is this: It costs less to retire than you may think it does—*provided you know how to discover those places where it costs less to live the kind of life you like.*

As founder of the Globetrotters Club I made it my business to find low-cost beauty spots all over the world. Right here in the U. S., I found places where the cost of living is surprisingly low—and you can get a part-time or seasonal job if you must pad out your income. Here are just a few of them.

Do you know where to find

- the greatest retirement bargain in Florida?
- the most beautiful town in all California?
- the three top-notch retirement towns in the Southwest?
- the one place in America where university experts have found the most healthful climate in the world?
- that marvelous Maine island where it's 10–15 degrees warmer in winter than on the mainland, and living costs are so low they attract many who otherwise could not afford to retire?
- a health spa, with wonderful facilities for recreation surrounded by a national park?
- the ideal island for retirement in the South, with cool summers and warm winters?
- the most "cultural" small town in America, with a Little Theatre, art and music clubs, a cosmopolitan atmosphere?

These are only a handful of the hundreds of beauty spots, hideaways, and larger communities in the U. S., where you can retire now on little money and enjoy yourself completely.

And in the rest of the world, there are hundreds more besides. Just a few of them:

- *The Azores or the Canaries*—tropical flowers, sandy beaches, and the charm of Old Spain are combined here—with rents of about $20 a month, groceries for a couple at $10 a week and servants $5 a month each.
- *The lotus-covered mountain lakes of Kashmir*, where a furnished houseboat with four turbanned servants rents for $70 a month. Total costs for a couple run about $175 a month—in the most beautiful spot on earth.
- *The South Seas?* Tahiti has found out about the Yankee dollar. But there's brilliant Sigatoka Beach at Suva or reef-girt Norfolk or Lord Howe Island, the Bargain Paradises of the South Seas today.

So I say again—you can retire now while still young enough to enjoy it—if you know where it costs less to live the kind of life you like.

NORMAN D. FORD

Mr. Ford has helped thousands to find the right place to retire on their present income. Hundreds come to him for advice. Typical letters:

Could you suggest a quiet, modest and inexpensive seacoast with a good beach and fishing where I could retire within 100 miles of New York City?

Is it possible to buy a rural 5-room cottage on an acre of ground near the southern Gulf Coast of Florida for $3000?

Where can I find a clean, friendly city with a climate that's mild and it's sunny the year around?

I have a highly strung, nervous type of constitution; I also suffer from pleurisy. I would like to retire in a medium-sized city with plenty of cultural opportunity. What can you suggest?

Is it true that you can live like a king in Majorca for less than $35 a week for two? How do you reach Majorca?

Do you know of any city in Mexico where prices have not risen, and I can find other retired Americans?

The facts to answer these typical questions and hundreds more are given in Norman D. Ford's wonderful books, *Norman Ford's Florida, Where to Retire on a Small Income* **and** *Bargain Paradises of the World.*

3 BOOKS that give the facts on where you can retire today on the money you've got.

Where Will You Go in Florida?

FLORIDA needn't be expensive—not if you know just where to go for whatever you seek in Florida. And if there's any man who can give you the facts you want, it's Norman Ford, founder of the world-famous Globetrotters Club. (Yes, Florida is his home whenever he isn't traveling!)

His big book, Norman Ford's Florida, tells you first of all, road by road, mile by mile, everything you'll find in Florida, whether you're on vacation, or looking over job, business, real estate, or retirement prospects.

Through his experienced advice you learn exactly where you can retire now on the money you've got, whether it's a little or a lot. (If you need a part-time or seasonal job to help out your income, he tells you where to pick up extra income.) Because Norman Ford always tells you where life in Florida is pleasantest on a small income, he can help you to take life easy now.

If you're going to Florida for a job with a future or a business of your own, his talks with hundreds of business men and state officials, etc., lets him pinpoint the towns you want to know about. If you've ever wanted to run a tourist court or own an orange grove, he tells you today's inside story of these popular investments.

Yes, no matter what you seek in Florida, this big book (with well over 100,000 words and plenty of maps) gives you the facts you want. Price—only $2, only a fraction of the money you'd spend needlessly if you went to Florida blind. Use coupon to order.

BARGAIN PARADISES OF THE WORLD

THIS is a book on how to double what your money can buy. For that is what spending a few weeks or months, or even retiring, in the world's Bargain Paradises amounts to.

Throughout this big book you learn where to spend a while in the West Indies, Mexico (where living costs dropped 33% when the peso was devalued last spring), South America (today's bargain counter for Americans), the healthful islands of the South Seas, the marvelous Balearic Islands.

You read about cities and towns where it's always spring, and where to find California weather with costs about half of those in the U. S. A., about "Four Modern Shangri-Las," about mountain hideaways, tropical islands as colorful as Tahiti but nearer home, about modern cities where you can live for less, about quiet country lanes and surf-washed coastal resorts.

If you've ever wanted to travel but wondered how you could afford it; if you have a little income but wonder how you'd ever be able to retire on that; if you want a life of luxuries on what you'd get only necessities back home, then you want *Bargain Paradises of the World.* 96 photos, 4 maps. Price $1.50.

WHERE TO RETIRE On a Small Income

THIS book selects out of the hundreds of thousands of communities in the U. S. and its island territories only those places where living costs are less, where the surroundings are pleasant, and where nature and the community get together to guarantee a good time from fishing, boating, gardening, concerts, or the like. The book never overlooks the fact that some people must get part-time or seasonal work to pad out their income.

It covers cities, towns, and farms throughout America—from New England south to Florida, west to California and north to the Pacific Northwest. It includes both Hawaii and the American Virgin Islands. Some people spend hundreds of dollars trying to get information like this by traveling around the country. Frequently they fail—there is just too much of America to explore.

Where to Retire on Small Income saves you from that danger. Yet the big 1955 edition costs only $1.

Mail this coupon for prompt delivery

Mail to HARIAN PUBLICATIONS
143 Third Avenue
Greenlawn (Long Island), N. Y.

I have enclosed $_____ (cash, check, money order). Please send me books I checked below. You will refund my money if I am not satisfied.

- ☐ Bargain Paradises of the World, $1.50
- ☐ Where to Retire on a Small Income, $1
- ☐ Norman Ford's Florida.....$2

Special offer: *all books above ($4.50 value) for $4.*

Print name_____

Address_____

City & State_____

Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED